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Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan

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TIBETAN LITERARY TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS CONCERNING CHINESE TURKESTAN

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SELECTED AND TRANSLATED BY

F. W. THOMAS



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PREFACE

DURING a period of over three centuries, commencing about A.D. 665, the Tibetans must have been well acquainted with Chinese Turkestan. It was visited by troops from all parts of their country, and some of its districts were continuously under their administration. Even in earlier times, anterior to the unification of the "Eighteen Tribes" in a powerful state, some intimations may have penetrated to them through the kindred "Jo Kiang" tribes on their north, the oldest continuous neighbours of Turkestan. But such enlightenment has long ago disappeared; in the known Tibetan literature it is unrepresented, except by the texts and extracts translated in this volume and by references in a fragmentary, still unpublished, Chronicle, covering about a century (ending c. A.D. 746); the recognized dynastic history (*Rgyal-rabs-gsal-bahi-me-lon*) makes only the slightest allusions to Khotan; Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* is equally uninformative; and from the literature of the Bon sect, even if further texts should come to light, we have, apparently, no reason to expect anything more than a few casual geographical notices. The work composed by Min-tshul Khutuktu in A.D. 1820-39 and translated into Russian by V. Vasiliev under the title *Geografia Tibeta* (St. Petersburg, 1895), is scarcely aware of the existence of Chinese Turkestan.

The Tibetan documents excavated by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan itself or procured by him, along with a mass of literary texts, from the hidden library of Ch'ien-fotung (near Tun-huang, in western Kan-su) have been rather fully discussed in the second part of the present publication. Not much further information is to be expected from them or from the literary texts, mainly versions of Buddhist Sanskrit works and devoid of local references; but some new light will surely be obtained from the large collection acquired by

Professor Paul Pelliot from the same hidden library and now undergoing examination by Monsieur Jean Bacot and Mademoiselle Lalou in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. To M. Bacot's kind consideration I am indebted for permission to use the MS. described and translated in the Appendix.

Severally the translations here given are introduced by statements concerning the provenance, nature, and prior study of the texts. Hence it remains only to note that in the year 1921 there was published at Kyoto (publisher, Teishiya-Shoten) under the title *Yu-t'ien-kuo-shi* (on the cover also in Tibetan, *Li-yul-gyi-lo-rgyus*), "History of the Kingdom of Khotan," by Enga Teramoto, a Japanese translation of Nos. 2-3 followed by discussions of the subject matter. I regret to have been unable to accomplish more than a superficial inspection of this work, which appears to have made good use of the sources of information available at that date. Help received from Professor Chungshee H. Liu in connection with a Chinese version of *The Prophecy of the Li Country*, No. 3a, is recorded on p. 50 *infra*.

An Introduction, and also an Index, to the present work will accompany the second part, "Documents," which is almost complete in type.

F. W. THOMAS.

July, 1935.

1

The Prophecy of Gośrînga



THE PROPHECY OF GOŚRĀṄGA

(Gośrāṅga-vyākaraṇa or Ri-Glañ-ru-luñ-bstan-pa)

This Tibetan text, of which the existence, the character, and the general purport have long been known, is contained in the collection known as the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* (*vulgo*, Kanjur), the "Ordinances, or Words, [of Buddha] translated", the Canon of Tibetan Buddhism. It belongs to the *Mdo* (*Sūtra*) section, occupying in the copies printed from the Snar-thaṅ (*vulgo*, Narthang) wood-blocks of c. A.D. 1731, e.g. in the copies belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the India Office Library, and the Bodleian, folios 336 (*b*, l. 6)–354 (*b*, l. 4) of volume 'A (30); in the Berlin MS. (B.), thought¹ to represent the Sde-dge (Derge) xylograph, folios 266 (*a*, l. 2)–281 (l. 2) of volume 'Aḥ (32); in the fine British Museum MS. (B.M.), copied doubtless from a xylograph, folios 360–376 of volume Na (12); in the edition represented by the Tibetan Index published (St. Petersburg, 1845) by I. J. Schmidt, folios 220–32 of volume 'Aḥ (32). Doubtless it would be found also in the other Tibetan editions, those of Potala, Co-ñe, etc., in the red Peking edition, and in the Mongol, Manchu, and other versions derived from the Tibetan. It is also printed as part (Section Sa, folios 1–20) of a collectaneous xylograph volume whereof a copy (K. 17) exists in the India Office Library.

Being included in the canon of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* and purporting to be a *sūtra* uttered by Buddha himself, the *Prophecy of Gośrāṅga* was originally, we may presume, composed in Sanskrit, which is known to have been current among the Buddhists of Khotan; and this presumption is supported by the fact that the essence of the narrative reappears, briefly, in

¹ But see M. Pelliot's remarks in *Journal Asiatique*, II, iv (1914), pp. 114–15.

the *Sūryagarbha sūtra*, whereof the Tibetan (*Bkaḥ-hgyur*, Mdo, Wa (20), folios 131–350) and Chinese (Nanjio, No. 62) versions are separately derived from a Sanskrit original: moreover, all similar legends of local shrines, in India, Nepal, Kashmir, etc., were in Sanskrit. We have, however, no indications concerning the name of the translator, or concerning his date, beyond the fact that the text is found in the *Bkaḥ-hgyur*, which was put together by Bu-ston (born in A.D. 1288).

The text seems to be, in the editions of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur*, practically constant, the divergences of reading being insignificant. As printed, however, in the collectaneous volume of the India Office Library (K. 17), it shows numerous minor, stylistic, alterations, which recur, mostly, in the Berlin MS. Attention has been called to the few variations in sense or in spelling of names.

The subject of the work was briefly stated by Csoma Kőrösi in his "Analysis of the Kanjur" (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, p. 484, reproduced by Feer in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. ii, p. 287). A more extensive *resumé* was given (1884) by Rockhill in *The Life of the Buddha* (pp. 232–3), and similarly by Śarat Candra Das (1886) in "Buddhist and other Legends about Khoten" (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lv, pp. 193–5). The work was cited, along with some other references to Gośṛṅga-Gośīrṣa, by M. Sylvain Lévi in "Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde" (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. iv, p. 555; v, p. 258). A rather full abstract was contributed to Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan* (1907), pp. 584–5.

The title, *Prophecy*, or *Prediction*, or *Revelation*, of Gośṛṅga, invites a brief comment in respect of both its elements. The Sanskrit word *vyākaraṇa*, rendered in Tibetan by *luñ-bstan-pa*, "authoritative exposition", comes from a compound verb *vi + ā + kr*, meaning "to discriminate into a systematic shape or shapes (*ākṛti*)", whether practically (as in its Vedic application to the forming of a cosmos) or theoretically. Thus it came to denote the systematic exposition or

interpretation of anything, in particular of the use of language, in which connection it became the technical term for the science of Grammar. With the sense of "exposition" or "explanation" it continued to be employed throughout the Vedic literature and the Epics, as may be seen from the examples cited in the lexicons. It is in this sense that it is applied to Buddha's authoritative explanations or interpretations of matters referred to him. On this Buddhist employment of the word we may cite the discussion by Burnouf in his *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (2nd edition, pp. 47-9), where the meaning "prediction" is approved, and M. Senart's note in his edition of the *Mahāvastu* (i, p. 627).¹ Possibly, however, we may be more precise. For the phrase *praśnaṃ vyākṛ*, "to expound a question propounded," occurs in the Brāhmanic literature, in the Buddhist Pali (see the lexicons), and in the Jaina Prakrit, where it constitutes the title (*Pañhā-vāgarāṇa*, *Praśna-vyākharāṇa*) of one of the *Āṅgas*, containing the answers to queries on various matters. Thus the *vyākharāṇa* department of Buddhist literature would comprise the *responsa* of Buddha to the problems which were constantly propounded for his judgment. As "revelations", these might relate to things hidden, whether in the present, or in the past (the history of persons, places, etc.), or in the future. In the last-named case, predominant, though not exclusive, in the books, we are justified in adopting such renderings as "prediction" or "prophecy".

The name *Gośrāṅga*, "Ox-horn," not unnatural in application to a hill, is attested by the work of Hiuan-Tsang and by other Chinese authorities. Its Tibetan equivalent, *Glan-ru*, survives, as has previously (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 262) been suggested, in the name of the existing village of Lānghru. We may perhaps discover a further justification for the name in the two hillocks of sand which rise above the plateau a little back from the steep escarpment towards the river (Stein, *Ancient*

¹ See now Dr. Obermiller's translation of Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*, pp. 31-2, where the meaning "prophecy" is authorized.

Khotan, p. 187). In Nepal, among a number of similarities to Khotan in respect of religious topography, we have the name *Gośrṅga* given as the original appellation of the Gopuccha or Svayambhū hill, near Kāṭhmāṇḍū.

Nevertheless it seems probable (*Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, pp. 67-8) that the more original form of the name was rather *Gośrṣa*, which is equally well attested, both in Tibetan and in Chinese. For the local synonym, *Hgehu-to-san* or *Gau-to-san* (Chinese, as has been pointed out by M. Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, II, iv, 1914, pp. 144-5), has this sense, which is perhaps to be recognized also in the vernacular [*Mo*]-*rgu-de-si* (modern *Go-ru-she-si*, which is also *Gośrṣa*; see S. C. Das, op. cit., p. 202, and *Asia Major*, II, p. 263). The Tibetan form *Glañ-mgo* occurs in this text, pp. 89, n. 4, 95, 109.

That the "Ox-horn" hill in the Khotan country would in Sanskrit be named *Gośrṅga* seems to have been first pointed out by Chézy (see Abel-Rémusat, *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 43, n. 1). Having been identified by M. Grenard (*Mission Dutreuil du Rhins*, III, pp. 142 sqq.) with the hill Kōhmāri, it was described in detail by Sir A. Stein in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 185 sqq. On its western side it rises with a steep escarpment about 250 feet above the western of the two Khotan rivers, the Karakash, which in the native language was called *Go-ma* or *Mgo-ma*, a name ingeniously lengthened to *Gomaṭi* in the Sanskrit texts (*Candragarbha*, *Sūryagarbha*, etc.; see S. Lévi, op. cit., IV, pp. 555-6) not specially concerned with Khotan.¹ On the plateau at the top are dune-like hillocks of sand, between two of which, not far from the brink of the river-cliff, is a modern *mazār*, or Musalman shrine, "worshipped as the resting-place of a saint popularly known as Khoja Maheb Khojam." This spot is, doubtless, the "little valley" (*luñ-bu*), what Sir A. Stein calls "a sort

¹ In view of the long prevalence of Tibetan in Khotan and of the many survivals of old nomenclature in the district it is not inconceivable that Kōhmāri is only a popular Musalman perversion of *Go-ma-ri*, "Go-ma hill."

of saddle " between the two hillocks, where was the perennial *stūpa* of Kāśyapa Buddha, Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, and where was erected the splendid statue of the *Phyi-se* (*guru* or *muni*, p. 25, n. 1, p. 89, n. 3), the Buddha, Śākya-muni, within the great monastery Hgehu-to-śan or Gau-to-śan. On this spot the Prophecy, made by Buddha after retiring a little way from the edge of the precipice, is said to have been delivered. A cave in the escarpment, about 50 feet below the top, has been visited by Dutreuil du Rhins, Stein, and others : it is not demonstrably identical with that mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang.

The *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da is not the only sacred edifice mentioned in the text. A monastery Par-spoñ-byed, occupied by the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī Kumāra-bhūta, is definitely located (p. 15) on the hill. The other monasteries named (*ibid.*), the Higgs-tshogs-spoñ-byed (Śāṅkā-prahāṇa) monastery of Ākāśagarbha, the Hod-can monastery of Avalokiteśvara, the Bi-si-mo-ña of Maitreya, the Ye-śes-ri of Kṣitigarbha, the Ba-no-co of Bhaiṣajya-rāja, the Saṃgha-pāla of Samantabhadra, are not stated to have been on the Gośrāṅga hill, and the first of them was certainly elsewhere. But in the form of images, it is stated (p. 15), all the eight Bodhi-sattvas pledged themselves to be present on the site of the Prophecy.

Mention has already been made of the great shining statue of Śākya-muni, which stood before the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, and of the great monastery, Hgehu-to-śan or Gau-to-śan, within which it stood. The latter, founded by king Vijaya-Vīrya in the first or second century A.D., is not contemplated in the Prophecy, which must have been composed several centuries after its erection. This may have resulted in some way from the fact that that monastery seems also to have been widely known (see Fa-hian, *ap. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp. xxv-vi ; Abel-Rémusat, *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 12 ; Lévi, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 556) by the name *Go-ma-ti* or *Hgum-tir*, which name,

properly belonging to a district, was also applied to another monastery (see *infra*, p. 108) and in the present text is even said (p. 19, n. 3) to have been used in regard to the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da. However that may be, we have at any rate (p. 27, n. 3) a clear reference to another site on the hill and adjacent to the *stūpa*, namely, the Ārya-stana of other texts (*infra*, p. 108), the earliest settlement of Āryan (i.e. Indian) Buddhists on the hill and the residence of their special Saṃgha.

The distance of the Gośṛṅga hill from the city of Khotan is given by Hiuan-Tsang (Beal, op. cit., i, p. 313) and other Chinese books (Abel-Rémusat, op. cit., p. 45) as 20 *li*, or about 4 miles, in a south-westerly direction. The estimate falls short of the actual interval, c. 11 miles, between the Kōhmāri hill and Yotkan, which is certainly the site, and perhaps retains a perversion of the name, of the ancient city of Khotan, Chinese Yu-t'ien, Tibetan Hu-ten, the Hiung-nu Yu-tun, etc. (Abel-Rémusat, op. cit., p. 35, n. 1; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 125; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 155). But the city, which has now moved away eastward to Ilchi on the Yurungkash river, may well in its time of prosperity, when it measured 9 *li*, about 2 miles (in circumference (?), Abel-Rémusat, op. cit., pp. 9, 28), have stretched some distance to the south of the modern excavations or treasure-washings; a conjecture which is confirmed by a similar, but greater discrepancy in the case of the Tsar-ma monastery (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 234-5) and by other indications.

On pp. 24 sqq. are references to images standing in various frontier places and to different shrines; and the very numerous sanctuaries in the country are poetically foreshadowed in the story of the 353 lotuses and lights (pp. 16-17) and compared to the zodiacal constellations surrounded by the hosts of stars (*ibid.*). In regard to these such identifications as are available are supplied in the notes. More generally, however, such matters, including questions

relating to the name of the country (*Dge-ba*) and city (*Dge-ba-can*) of Khotan, are reserved for the Introduction, where also the references to invasions or domination by foreigners, Chinese, Tibetans, Turks, Drug-gu, Sum-pa (pp. 20, 28), are considered.

Interest attaches to the statements concerning the religiosity and mild character of the Khotan people and rulers (p. 31), their devotion to the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and its literature (p. 30), their atonements and religious sanctuaries (pp. 26-7), their car-festivals (p. 26) and other celebrations (p. 33), their music (p. 26); also to the emphasis laid (p. 23) upon the superiority of monastic to lay life. On p. 26 there is allusion to commercial prosperity and security of merchandise in transit. All these agreeable features are in accord with the other available information; whereas the hints of irreligious conduct on the part of princes, land-holders, and ministers (p. 21) and to oppressive fiscal exactions (p. 29) foreshadow the decay so vividly depicted in the two "Prophecies" which follow.

The date of the *Prophecy of Gośrāṅga* cannot, therefore, be earlier than the latter part of the seventh century A.D., when the Tibetans first began to interfere in Khotan: the Turks will have come, as we learn from other sources (the historical notices *ap.* Abel-Rémusat and Stein, *opp. cit.*), earlier, as did the Chinese, Drug-gu, and Sum-pa. A date much later than this is also excluded, by the absence of all allusion to the situation revealed in the two "Prophecies".

There is, however, a further suggestion which may finally account for the use of the name Sum-pa in this connection. The people in question would be likely upon historical grounds to be Qar-luq Turks from the Tian-shan and Zungaria, who during this period were allied with the Tibetans. Now that area was conquered, and occupied after the Hiung-nu period, by a branch of the Sien-pi, who overcame the Wu-sun in A.D. 150 (De Guignes, Klaproth, Cordier; see *infra*, pp. 156-9). These would be the Supiya (So-byi, and Sum-pa) of the Kharoṣṭhī

period, and their incursions into Turkestan, which evidently were frequent during the third century A.D. (*Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 54-8), will have permanently attached their name to the marauding peoples from the same area, even when the role has passed to another people, the Qarluq Turks. Thus the Badakshan Sum-pas have a real identity of name with the Tibetan Sum-pas, who were actually, like the Tu-yuk-hun, of Sien-pi origin.

TRANSLATION

THE PROPHECY OF GOŚRĀṆGA,¹ A MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA

In the language of India—

336b

'Ā-rya-Go-śrag² byā-ka-ra-na-nā-ma-Ma-ha-yā-na-sū-tra
[Ārya-Gośrāṅga-vyākaraṇa-nāma-Mahāyāna-sūtra]

In the language of Tibet—

Hphags-pa-ri-Glañ-ru-lun-bstan-pa-žes-bya-ba-Theg-pa-
chen-poñi-mdo

CHAPTER I³

Homage to Mañjuśrī, the Youth.⁴

337a

Thus have I heard: Once the Deva-beyond-Devas,⁵ the Buddha Śākya-muni, having after three Incalculable Aeons,⁶ through the full maturation⁷ of his accumulated merits, attained Perfect Enlightenment,⁸ and having in other countries of Jambū-dvīpa fully matured the disciplinable beings,⁹ was on one occasion residing in a part of the country Vaiśālī,¹⁰ [namely] in Rāja-grha,¹¹ place of a great Yoga-Rṣi.¹² His numerous retinue was of divers Bodhi-sattvas, the magnanimous¹³ Bodhi-sattva Ārya Maitreya and others; great disciples,¹⁴ one thousand, two-hundred and fifty; elders,¹⁵ Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana¹⁶ and others; divers

¹ Bkañ-hgyur, Mdo 'A (30), foll. 336-54.

² This is, doubtless, a miswriting for *śrāṅga*, the reading of K. 17 and B.

³ There is only one chapter.

⁴ *Hjam-dpal-gzon-nur-gyur-pa* = *Mañjuśrī Kumāra-bhūta*.

⁵ *lha-yañ-lha* = *devātideva*.

⁶ *bskal-pa-graṅs-med-pa* = *asaṃkhyeya-kalpa*.

⁷ *rnam-par-smin-pa* = *vipāka*.

⁸ *yañ-dag-par-rdzogs-pañi-saṅs-rgyas* = *samyak-sambodhi*.

⁹ *ñdul-b[y]añi-sems-can* = *vineya-sattva*.

¹⁰ *Yañs-pa-can*.

¹¹ *Rgyal-poñi-khab* is the common rendering of *Rāja-grha*. But possibly, since *Rāja-grha* did not belong to Vaiśālī, only "royal palace" is meant. Bimbisāra, however, is named below.

¹² *thub-pa-drañ-sroñ*.

¹³ *sems-pa-chen-po* = *mahā-mati*.

¹⁴ *ñan-thos* = *śrāvaka*.

¹⁵ *gnas-brtan* = *sthavira*.

¹⁶ *Moñu-dgal-gyi-bu*.

Devas, Brahmā, Śatakratu and others; divers World-regents,¹ the Deva-king Vaiśravaṇa² and others; divers great Nāga-kings; numerous powerful Yakṣas; numerous Gandharvas, the Gandharva-king Pañcaśikha³ and others; divers Kinnaras,⁴ the Kinnara-king Manohara⁵ and others; and numerous human kings of Jambū-dvīpa, king Bimbisāra⁶ and others.

3376 Then at that time the Deva-beyond-Devas, the Buddha Śākya-muni, envisaging in thought⁷ the future country Dge-ba,⁸ pronounced to his numerous retinue: "Noble youths,⁹ in the direction of the northern region, on the bank of the river Go-ma,¹⁰ by the hill Gośṛṅga,¹⁰ there is a mansion of sages, great Ṛṣis, a *stūpa*, by name Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da.¹⁰ Thither, without doubt, since there is a necessary work to be done, it is time to repair."

Then at that time the Deva-beyond-Devas, the Holy Buddha, with his full retinue soared into the sky; and, while innumerable Gandharvas, the Gandharva-king Pañcaśikha and the rest, enacted in their presence various heavenly displays, and divers Kinnaras, the Kinnara-king Manohara and the rest, performed acts of worship above and in entrancing strains and divine speech belauded the Holy Buddha, attended by those retinues and those worshippers, he came where was the hill Gośṛṅga. There arrived, the Deva-beyond-Devas, the Holy Buddha, beheld, while still on high,¹¹ in the northern direction before him,¹² a great lake from ancient times, like an ocean. Drawing straight his body, he remained during

¹ *ljig-rten-skyon-ba* = *loka-pāla*.

² *Rnam-thos-kyi-bu* = "Viśravaṇa's son."

³ *Gtsug-phud-lha-pa*.

⁴ *mi-ham-ci*.

⁵ *Yid-hon*: cf. the Kinnarī Manoharā of the *Divyāvadāna*.

⁶ *Gzugs-can-sñin-po*.

⁷ *dgoṅs-ñin-mñon-sum-du-mdzad-nas*.

⁸ On the origin of this name (Tibetan = *punya*, *kusāla*) see the Introduction.

⁹ *rigs-kyi-bu* = *kula-putra*.

¹⁰ On these names see *supra*, pp. 5-7, and *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 262-3.

¹¹ *bžens-bžin-du*.

¹² *zal-byan-phyogsu*.

one hundred crores and one hundred thousands [of years] in a trance¹ of meditation. After three Incalculable Æons he envisaged his own Buddha acts, vows,² and merits.

338a

Then at that time the Deva-beyond-Devas, the Holy Buddha, bestowed a blessing upon the hill Gośrāṅga and the country Dge-ba from the Golden Circle³ to the World-zenith⁴ and sanctified its protection, its purification [*gtsaṅ* : K. 17 and B. *bcad*, "divisions" ?], its auspices, its confines, its muttered and spoken [word],⁵ and the country.

Then at that time the Deva-beyond-Devas, the Holy Buddha, pronounced to all those escorts: "This hill Gośrāṅga, mansion of the Holy One, together with the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and together with the country Dge-ba, is the sign manual⁶ of all the Holy Buddhas of the Good Æon,⁷ undefiled, uncommon, a hermitage. Therefore is this country named Dge-ba."

Then at that time the Deva-beyond-Devas, the Holy Buddha, made a prophecy of the country Dge-ba and the city Dge-ba-can and the retreats⁸ of the several Saṃghas and the monasteries⁹ and the places of meditation, and of the kings who in that country on their several occasions would create the good substance called merits,¹⁰ and of the faithful having faith in the Religion, and of the donors¹¹ and all the Li people. Then the Holy One pronounced to the

¹ *tin-ne-hdzin* = *saṃādhi*.

² *smoṇ-lam* = *praṇidhāna*.

³ *Gser-gyi-dkyil-hkhor* = the Kāñcana-cakra of *Divyāvadāna*, p. 197, l. 8, and the Kāñcana-bhūmi ("maṇḍala") of the *Abhidharma-kośa*, iii, 46, and *Loka-prajñāpti* (ed. de la Vallée Poussin, pp. 73, 317; cf. translation, ii, p. 140).

⁴ *Srid-paḥi-rtse* = *bhavāgra*.

⁵ *bzlas-brjod*. Or merely "muttered utterance".

⁶ *phyag-tsan* (*phyag-mtshan* in K. 17 and elsewhere, given in the lexicon of Tshe-rin-dbañ-rgyal, ed. Bacot, as = *hasta-cihna*).

⁷ *bskal-pa-bzan-po* = *bhadra-kalpa*.

⁸ *kun-dgaḥ-ra-ba* = *ārāma*.

⁹ *gtsug-lag-khañ* = *vihāra*.

¹⁰ *bsod-nams-bya-baḥi-dños-po*. This might be rendered "the substance of meritorious acts (*bya-ba*)".

¹¹ *yon-bdag* = *dāna-pati*.

3386 Bodhi-sattvas: "Noble youths, give ye also blessing, that in this country which in future ages is to arise the beings may quickly attain to great vows and may achieve the trance state."

Then at that time the Holy One, having retired a little from the side of the lake and having prepared a throne on the thereto adjacent hill Gośṛṅga, sat in religious pose¹; and he looked in the direction where, in the west,² was the mansion of the Holy One, the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da. Then at that time from other and other world-regions came Bodhi-sattvas, two myriads, and many sages with the Five Clairvoyances,³ arriving, arriving in an instant where the Holy One was; and, doing homage to the mansion of the Holy One, the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, they besought its protection.⁴ With homage also they sought the protection of Buddha, the Holy One, together with his retinue: then they sat them down on one side.

Then at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, aware that those companies of his retinue were fully assembled, pronounced to those companies thus: "Whereas heretofore in this Good Æon have appeared four Holy Buddhas, by them also the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, with the country
339a itself, was blessed. Whereas hereafter in this same Good Æon will appear Buddhas one thousand, they also all will come with their retinues here and will bless the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, with the country itself, and will sanctify its boundaries and auspices.⁵ I too, since now is come the time for blessing, bless."

Then at that time the Deva-beyond-Devas, the Buddha,

¹ *skyil-mo-kruṇ-beas-te*. *skyil-mo-kruṇ* is the cross-legged posture (the *padmāsana*, no doubt).

² *ḥal-nub-phyogs*.

³ *mñon-śes-pa-lha-ldan-dan-pa* = *abhiññā-pañcaka-sahita*. The five *abhiññās* (the "divine eye", etc.) are named in *Der Chinesische Dharma-samgraha*, ed. F. Weller, p. 25 (No. ix).

⁴ *skyabs-su-son*. They uttered the phrase *śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi* or *śaraṇāgato 'smi*.

⁵ *bkra-kis* = *maṅgala*.

the Holy One, was rapt in the trance named "Present-Buddha-Appearing-Manifest",¹ and in other Tathāgata trances beyond number.

Then at that time the strong Bodhi-sattvas who watch over those absorbed in trance or in Yoga abode before the *stūpa* of the Buddha Kāśyapa²; and they blessed that spot of earth, that in the time when the country should exist they would [there] have their images. Likewise also the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī the Youth, being at the stage of the Great Vow,³ gave blessing that they who should approach the spot where should arise on the hill Gośrāṅga a monastery named Par-spon-byed⁴ should attain.⁵ Likewise also the Bodhi-sattva Ākāśagarbha,⁶ of might without bound like ether, gave blessing that the spot where should arise a monastery³³⁹⁶ named H̄jigs-tshogs-spon-byed⁷ should be a place of worship. Likewise also the Bodhi-sattva Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, of the Great Compassion, gave blessing that on the spot where should arise a monastery named H̄od-can⁸ there should be attainment. Likewise also the Bodhi-sattva Maitreya, the ever Charitable, gave blessing that on the spot where should arise a monastery named Bi-si-mo-ña he himself would reside. Likewise also the Bodhi-sattva Kṣitigarbha,⁹ ever of purest action, gave blessing that the spot where should arise a monastery named Ye-śes-ri¹⁰ should be worthy of homage.

¹ *da-lar-gyi-saṅs-rgyas-mñon-sum-du-bzugs-pa*. This does not seem to be included in the list of *samādhis* given in the *Mahāvīryupatti*, § 21.

² *H̄od-sruṅs*. ³ *smon-lam-chen-po* = *mahā-praṇidhāna*.

⁴ In this name *spon-byed* = Sk. *prahāṇa* (see *infra*, n. 7). *Par* (which K. 17 and B. omit) is neither Sanskrit nor Tibetan. Is *Par-mog* (on which see *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 263-4) meant? If so, we have *mog* = *spon-byed* = *prahāṇa*.

⁵ i.e. should have *siddhi* (attainment of spiritual advance or powers).

⁶ *Nam-mkhañi-sñin-po*. In the Tibetan *Bkañ-hgyur*, Mdo 22, we have an *Ākāśagarbha-nāma-Mahāyāna-sūtra*, and in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* (Nanjio, Nos. 67-9) two *Ākāśagarbha-sūtras* and one *°dhāraṇi-sūtra*.

⁷ The Sanskrit name of this monastery (which was not on Mt. Gośrāṅga) is given as *Śāṅkā-prahāṇa*. It was on a *Śāṅkā-giri*: see *infra*, pp. 53, 77.

⁸ *H̄od-can* would in Sanskrit be *Jyotsnā*; see p. 308, n. 6.

⁹ *Saṅgi-sñin-po*. ¹⁰ = **Jñāna-giri* (= *Ñon-bgyir*, pp. 57, 112-13, 314).

Likewise also the Bodhi-sattva Bhaiṣajya-rāja,¹ unstayed² in the saving of disciplinable³ beings, gave blessing that on the spot where should arise a monastery named Ba-no-co there should be attainment indeed. Likewise also the Bodhi-sattva Samantabhadra,⁴ of the Great Miracles,⁵ gave blessing that on the spot where should arise a monastery
 340a named Saṃgha-pāla⁶ there should be attainment. Likewise also the Buddha, the Holy One, and others, Bodhi-sattvas and great Arhats, gave blessing that all the spots where, in the Li country, there should be monasteries and groves⁷ and places of contemplation,—as when at full moon the constellations⁸ blaze in the firmament, girt with the starry hosts,—should be pleasant and cheerful and prosperous and, as it were, rejoicing with joy.

Also at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, while he abode on the hill Gośrṅga, and all the magnanimous Bodhi-sattvas and great Arhats shot forth rays of light of all manifold kinds and with great radiance flooded the lands of Li. And in that same instant there rose up from the great lake lotuses three hundred and fifty and three, and upon the lotuses were seen shining figures of Buddha and Bodhi-sattvas enthroned.

Then at that time the Devas, having beheld that unexampled sign, entreated the Buddha, the Holy One, and
 340b the Buddha pronounced: "Noble Youths, when in time to come, in this region where up from the lake have sprung lotuses three hundred and fifty and three with figures of Buddha and Bodhi-sattvas, there shall be a country, then in this same region, in places of contemplation and monasteries as many as are the lotuses, the *gaṇḍī*⁹ shall be struck; and, wherever the magnanimous Bodhi-sattvas and Great Disciples, emitting their rays of manifold coloured light, have bestowed

¹ *Sman-gyi-rgyal-po.*

² *thag-thogs-mi-mñah-ba.* ³ *gdul-ba = vineya.*

⁴ *Kun-tu-bzan-po.*

⁵ *rdzu-hphrul-chen-po.* ⁶ *Dge-hḍun-skyoñ.*

⁷ *skyed-mo-tshal = ārāma.* ⁸ *rgyu-ba = nakṣatra.*

⁹ On the *gaṇḍī*, a sort of wooden gong, see the edition of the *Gaṇḍī-stotra*, by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein, *Bibliotheca Buddhica* xv, Introduction, p. xxi.

blessing on the country, on those spots, and likewise on this spot, where I have bestowed a blessing upon the mansion of the Tathāgata, the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, together with the land Dge-ba, will faithful donors, on their several occasions, make images of Buddha and others, and, through veneration of such and such places, will have presage¹ of attainment as they may desire."

Also at that time the Devas, rising from their seats, besought the Holy One thus : "O revered² Holy One, this land, after how long will it appear ? By whom is it brought forth ? O revered Holy One, it is now a waste, a store of great waters : by whom and how comes it forth ? Pronounce, we pray." The Holy One pronounced : "Listen, 341a Noble Youths ! When from my *nirvāṇa* shall have lapsed one hundred years, in the land of China there will be a king of China named Cha-yañ,³ having⁴ a full thousand sons. Each son will be appointed to found a new kingdom. Afterwards, having heard that in the direction of the western quarter there is a hill Gośrāṅga and a land blessed by divers Bodhi-sattvas, wherein is a mansion of the Holy One, the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, he will reflect, 'If I still had one son, I would appoint him to establish a kingdom in that place blessed by the Buddhas in general'—this was⁵ his thought. Thereupon the king of China prayed⁵ to Vaiśravaṇa for a son ; and Vaiśravaṇa gave⁵ him a son born in this Jambū-dvīpa to a king named Aśoka.⁶ The child will be of fine size and pleasing form, charming to behold. For that child a breast will arise from the earth, and at that breast the child through the force of his former merits and his store of good deeds will suck : therefore the child's name will be

¹ *sṇa-ltas.* ² *btsun-pa.*

³ (K. 17 and B. have Ca-yañ.) The great Tsin emperor Shih Huang Ti, 246-210 B.C. The dating "one hundred years from the *nirvāṇa*" reflects a confusion which reappears *infra*, p. 104, n. 1.

⁴ *bdog-pa.*

⁵ There is here some admixture of past tenses.

⁶ *Mya-nan-med.*

Earth-breast Mother-breast.¹ The child having soon grown up, his father, the king of China, will anoint him to royal state, will give him much wealth, and designate councillors, a full suite, to attend upon his person. Under king² Earth-
 341b breast Mother-breast a Great Councillor named Hjañ-śo³ and others, together with several armies, will come at one time from the land of China and arrive in this land. Having arrived, they will here establish a kingdom. Being established by that king Earth-breast Mother-breast, for that reason this country will be named 'Earth-breast Mother-breast's country'. At that time, from the side of the western region, will come many Indian people, who by letter will desire⁴ to be subjects of king Earth-breast Mother-breast. Having made accord as to joint rule of the water, the great China councillor, Hjañ-śo, and the others will in due course establish villages, cities, and hamlets,⁵ Chinese and Indian. Thus, with king Earth-breast Mother-breast [for first king], during many generations of men there will be kings of this country. Moreover, those kings, in succession severally, will create in this country places of contemplation and monasteries, and will bestow upon them land and water and servants and dignities.⁶ Some will themselves renounce the world⁷; some will have sons and daughters renouncing; some will allow their subjects without number to renounce. Thus will arise in this land

¹ *Sa-las-nu-ma-nu*, the Tibetan form of the name (curiously enough, the last two syllables *ma-nu* "Mother-Breast" sound like Sanskrit *Manu*), does not deserve retention, being a translation. The Sanskrit *Kustana*, perhaps in the first instance the name of the city *Kustana*, Khotan, is, in view of the folk-etymology, probably original, although the possibility of its being a translation is not excluded. As was previously suggested (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 261), the syllables *stana* probably, as recurring locally in *Āryastana* (with a similar legend) and *Īnasthāna*, represent Iranian *stāna* or Sanskrit *sthāna*.

² K. 17 and B. have "prince" (*rgyal-bu*).

³ What is the relation of this Hjañ-śo (K. 17 and B. Jañ-śo) to the (Indian) Yaśo of the other version (*infra*, p. 100 sqq.)?

⁴ *mchid-kyis-hshal*. But *mchid* does not necessarily mean "letter".

⁵ *gron-rdal*. ⁶ *jal-ta-byed-pa*: or "functionaries".

⁷ *rab-tu-byun* = Sk. *pravraj* "to renounce the world", to become a religious, a cleric, a monk.

many persons of Bodhi-sattva lineage, who, ever gathering store of good from the Three Gems, will acquire the substance named ¹ merits. Thus will the land be after the manner of 342a its foundation by king Earth-breast Mother-breast. At the time of each Buddha's coming this country will arise and will flourish. Why is it that other and other lands after ruin remain lastingly vacant and waste, but the land Dge-ba at the time of each Buddha's appearing becomes adorned with people and pleasant?—if this is asked, it is thus : This land is a place of great Ṛṣi sages ; it is hard by the hill Gośrāṅga with the Tathāgata's *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, and on the bank of the river Go-ma. In the *Sūtra-piṭaka* ² this *stūpa* is named Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da : in the usage of the people at large it has the designation 'River Go-ma's Bank'.³ Thus, so long as the *stūpa* 'River Go-ma's Bank' and the *stūpa* of Kāśyapa both shall flourish and be made places of worship, so long shall the land named Dge-ba flourish and be fair. When these two *stūpas* decline, then will the land too decline and be vacant."

Then at that time the Devas assembled in that retinue, having heard the utterance of the Holy One's pronouncement, acquired faith and great veneration for the *stūpa* 342b Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and the hill Gośrāṅga. Bowing in homage to the Buddha, the Holy One, they sought salvation in him and in his presence thus aspired : "May we too at that time be born of high lineage in this land and may we safeguard the Sugata's doctrine, that the land's religious ordinance may not fail!" Then at that time the Holy One pronounced to the Deva-king Vaiśravaṇa and the

¹ See p. 13, n. 10.

² See the passages cited by Professor Sylvain Lévi in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, iv, pp. 547-8, 555-6; v, 256-8, from the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* and *Candragarbha-sūtra*.

³ This is, no doubt, a learned etymology of the name *Hgum-tir* (as *Go-ma-tira*), in which the syllable *tī[r]* probably had another sense, as in *Dro-tir* and *San-tir* : see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 262. The name *Hgum-tir* is, however, not elsewhere applied to the *stūpa* : it belongs to a district and a monastery there : see *infra*, pp. 108-9.

magnanimous Bodhi-sattva Saṃjñin¹ and the Deva Ajita² and the Nāga-king Gṛhadāha³ and the Deva Ākāśadhātu⁴ and the Deva Suvarṇa(Kāñcana?)māla⁵ and the Devī Aṅkuśavatī⁶ and the Devī Sthānavatī⁷: "Noble Youths, to you I commit the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and the hill Gośṛṅga, together with the land, and my doctrine and my sons: watch round them, protect them and cherish them and make them object of worship. May the kings of this land, the land-holding councillors and the donors loyal to religion, through their liberality do likewise! May this Gośṛṅga Prophecy *sūtra* through their liberality prosper and flourish! When this country shall be in distress through injury by fire or water or foreign armies, then, if this *sūtra* is read and recited and worshipped and pondered and meditated upon, in consequence thereof the injuries of the country will be allayed. In time to come, through the ripening of the works of living beings, there will come into the land Sum-pas⁸ and Tibetans. At that time let this *sūtra* be read: hearing this *sūtra*, through virtue of this *sūtra* and the blessing of the Devas those unbelievers will not devastate the land, but will have revulsion of mind. In time to come the Chinese too will come into this land. Then let this *sūtra* be read: hearing this *sūtra*, they too will believe: through

¹ *Hdu-śes-can*. The literal translation *Samjñin*, at first sight not convincing as a name, is confirmed by the fact that the Yakṣa Seng-cul-ye, interpreted by M. Lévi (op. cit., v, p. 257) as *Sanjaya*, must also have been in some version *Samjñin*, since the Tibetan version calls him *Min-can* (an alternative to *Hdu-śes-can*), also (p. 94, etc.) *Yan-dag-śes*. Probably the real name (*Sa-ñe*, p. 310, n. 6) was local and not connected with Sanskrit.

² *Mi-lpham-pa* = Maitreya.

³ *Khyim-tshig*. This is, no doubt, the Khotan *nāga-rāja* "Brûlant-Maison", cited by Professor Sylvain Lévi (op. cit., v, p. 268) from the *Candragarbha* of the *Mahā-saṃnipāta*; cf. *Ākāśadhāha*, *Cittadhāha*.

⁴ *Nam-mkhaḥ[i]-dbyins*.

⁵ *Gser-gyi-phren-ba-can*; cf. p. 310, n. 8.

⁶ *Lcags-kyu-can*; cf. p. 97.

⁷ *Gnas-can*: see p. 310, n. 10. Are these two last the goddesses *A-na-kin-sheou* and *T'o-nan-she-li* cited by Professor Sylvain Lévi, loc. cit., from the *Candra-garbha-sūtra*?

⁸ On the *Sum-pa* see pp. 9-10 *infra*, pp. 156 sqq. and Index.

the might of faith they will not devastate the land, but on the contrary¹ will protect it and will acquire the substance called merits. Therefore this *sūtra* is of service to the land. In many other ways also this *sūtra* is beneficent, as cannot in a brief time be told. This *sūtra* therefore I confide to you."

Then at that time Vaiśravaṇa and those others, Devas and Nāga-kings and Devis, together with their retinues, rose up, and before the Holy One they sank with bended knees on the ground and with folded hands prayed thus : "O 343b revered Holy One, may we too receive upon our heads the Holy One's pronouncement. And a prayer : according as the Holy One pronounces, may we all guard the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and the hill Gośrāṅga, together with the land. And the doctrine of the Sugata and the kings accordant with religion and the monks and the land-holders accordant with religion and the donors accordant with religion and whosoever shall acquire the substance called merits, all these would we safeguard. O Holy One, so long as in this land the Three Gems are made object of worship and the land-holders, protecting the land in accord with religion, allow no lords not accordant with religion, so long may we be able to guard ; and, in order that this *sūtra* may be established afar from the Li land, to the kings arisen west of² the Li land and to the councillors may this *sūtra*, as one expounded by the Holy One from the hill Gośrāṅga for the sake of the Li land, be celebrated in their ears ; may it come into their hands and be in their thoughts ! O Holy One, when in this land the 344a Three Gems are not made object of worship and lords not accordant with religion have the upper hand,³ at that time with changed minds⁴ may we, enfeebled in majesty and might, be unable to guard this land ! ' Why so ? ', be it asked : our

¹ *phyir-zin*. Or is this *abhikṣam* "repeatedly", as in the dictionary of Tshen-riñ-dbañ-rgyal ?

² *Li-yul-nas-ñi-hog-tu-gyur-pa-ñi-rgyal-po*. But *ñi-hog-tu* might mean "under the sun". Laufer (*Roman einer Tib. Königin*, p. 121) translates "Reich". Cf. pp. 60 n. 3, 62 n. 11, and II, pp. 98, 10. K. 17 and B. have "long in" for "far from".

³ *thag-par-bgyid-pa*.

⁴ *Sems-beggyur*, om. K. 17 and B.

strong might and majesty is to guard the land religiously in accord with the Sugata's doctrine and to make it flourish with the strength of the good store of the substance called merits."

Then at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, rose from his throne, and, looking from the ledge on the top of the hill Gośṛṅga in the direction where was the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, twice and thrice he blessed the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, ever and again the scene of the Tathāgata's career, and the hill Gośṛṅga together with the land. All the Li lands and the countless living beings abiding within the lake ¹ he suffused with light and with great compassion. Through that light and that great compassion all those beings in the water were relieved of their pains; freed from wrath and rancour and endued with mild thoughts, all those beings, 344b having the happiness of Devas, in that single instant, with their countless works, passed from life and were born among Devas and men. Obtaining the seed of a future Buddhahood, they received Enlightenment Irreversible.²

Then at that time the Holy One called out thrice to the Devas and thus pronounced: "Noble Youths, your vow cannot without strenuousness be made good. Noble Youths, this doctrine, arduously followed by me ³ during three Incalculable Æons,⁴ and the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, together with the land, I consign to you: guard them well. Whoso among you shall be firm in remembrance of me and shall safeguard the doctrine, should watch over those who in this doctrine renounce the world. 'Why so?', be it asked: of householding persons some during a hundred years realize each day ⁵ great merits, a store of good, while some, having in a single day made renouncement, stand fast in the doctrine, but after the first are not capable of even

¹ *hṛtshohi-nān-na*, where *hṛtsho* = *mīsho*, as the context proves, and as K. 17 and B. read.

² *byān - chub - las - phyir - mi - ldog - pa[r - gyur]* = *anivartanīya - bodhi* or *avaivartika-bodhi*.

³ *dkah-ba-spyad-pa* = *duṣkara-caryā*. ⁴ *asamkhyeya-kalpa*.

⁵ *lo-brgyahi-bar-du-ñin-re-ñin*. On the use of *ñin* see pp. 111, n. 8, 117, n. 4.

a hundredth fraction of subsequent merit. 'Why so?', be it asked : all the Buddhas, as the sands of the Ganges river in number, did first make renouncement, forsaking the household station, and by that course of life did they win the Great Enlightenment. I too, having accomplished the Six Perfections¹ and having reached the Ten Stages,² did in the time of my last existence at midnight go forth from the royal abode and depart to the forest. From the forest my charger I sent to the king, my father, and with my sword I severed my locks. My fine raiment, of infinite price, I, bartering therewith, exchanged for tatters, the garb of religion. In that garb of religion arrayed, I did homage to all the Buddhas of the Three Times and made them my succour, embracing the life of renouncement. All the gods with homage to me sought succour and followed after.³ By that way of life I attained to Perfect Enlightenment. Therefore let the Sugata's doctrine be known as the highest : let renouncement be known as meritorious. In this world a winning of Arhathood by the householder's cloth,⁴ of Buddhahood itself or of Perfect Enlightenment, save as won by renouncement, has by none been heard of or seen. This way of renouncement is an object of worship to all Devas and so forth in the world." 345a

Then at that time all those Devas and Devis rose up from their seats and with one voice entreated the Buddha, the Holy One, thus : "O revered Holy One, we will as the Holy One has pronounced : in intent we would not transgress his command. In this land we would safeguard the Buddha's doctrine and the life-land of the Tathāgatas together with the *stūpa*, would protect and cherish them. That the Holy One may give us the strength is our prayer. 'Why so?', be it asked : in the Age of Strife⁵ not yet come many enemies and unbelievers and antagonists in this blessed land, not attaining the excellence of faith in the Sugata's doctrine, will strike for the overthrow of the doctrine—that is why." 345b

¹ *pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *pāramitā*.

² *sa-bcu* = *daśa-bhūmi*.

³ *phyi-bzin-du-hbran*.

⁴ *cha-lugs*.

⁵ *ritsod-paḥi-dus* = Kali age.

Then at that time the Holy One gave assent to those Devas, saying: "It is well. Excellent beings, it is well. It is well. From me too this land has received blessing. By that same blessing it is marked off. In the Age of Strife not yet come Sum-pas¹ with great armies and Drug-gus² of various race and Hor and other unbelievers will come to ruin this land. At that time blessed Tathāgata-images from other and other
 346a lands, arrived in this land, will guard the land's borders. Through the power of the merits thereof this land will not be utterly ruined. In the train of those images will come many Bodhi-sattvas and Devas and Nāgas of great might and strength, who in the several lands will overthrow the harm-doers and will save from ruin by the enemy. From the city named Dge-ba-can will come an image named Punya-sambhava,³ which, standing in Ku-śen,⁴ city of the west, will guard the land's borders. In the northern quarter, in a land named Sen-ze,⁵ a Tathāgata-image named Sen-za, risen from the nether world, will guard the land's borders . . . a Tathāgata-image named Kihū-lañ, being come, and standing in a town named Phye-ma,⁶ in the eastern quarter, will guard the land's borders . . . a Tathāgata-image named

¹ On the *Sum-pa* see pp. 9-10, 20, n. 8 and reff.

² Concerning the *Drug-gu* or *Grug-gu* (pp. 28, etc.) see Index.

³ *Bde-baḥi-lbyun-gnas*.

⁴ On *Ku-śen* (K. 17 and B. *Ko-śed*) see *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 259-60, and Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 584, and cf. Cordier's catalogue of the *Bstan-hgyur*, iii, p. 433, No. 45. It is to be observed that here *Ku-śen* is distinguished, as a city on the western frontier (Guma? p. 318, n. 3), from Khotan, which elsewhere (Abel-Rémusat, p. 16; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 125) is stated to mean "[city of the] western mountains". Or was *Ku-śen*, "la ville ou réside (le roi)" (Chavannes), part of Khotan itself? Cf. p. 263.

⁵ On *Sen-ze* = *Śin-śan* see *infra*, Index.

⁶ On *Phye-ma* see Beal, op. cit., i, pp. lxxxvi-vii; ii, pp. 322-4; Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 285, 462 sqq. The distances given by Sung-yun (878 *li*) and Hsuan-Tsang (c. 300 *li*) differ singularly from one another and from the actual distance of the Keriya river from Khotan (c. 100 miles in a straight line). Concerning the famous image and its miraculous coming from *Ho-lo-lo-kia* see the reff. It will be noted that according to the *Prophecy* the eastern frontier of Khotan is at *Phye-ma*.

Phye-se,¹ having come, and standing before the *stūpa* of Kāśyapa on the hill Gośrāṅga, in its(?) northern quarter, generating a store of good in the anchorite monks, will guard the Tathāgata's doctrine and the land's borders. Within the city named Dge-ba-can, in the bazar named Ka'a-sta-hdi-ze,² a Tathāgata-image, standing in the king's palace called Gnās,³ will guard the borders of the city together with the land Dge-ba. In the spot named Ño-mo-ña,⁴ where a king named Yol⁵ will take counsel to build a city, a Tathāgata-image named Cu-gon-pan,⁶ standing there, will guard the borders of the city Dge-ba-can together with the land. In a monastery named Di-na-dzya⁷ an image of the Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara, made in Thor-koṅ, being⁸ come there—that image, made in Thor-khoṅ,⁹ of Jambū-dvīpa, will be the first of all to arrive: to that image the Li people will attach the name Jagad-Dīpaṃkara¹⁰: it will be a model for all those who in Thor-koṅ make Li-country images—will safeguard the Su-gata[’s doctrine] together with the land. Many rich-jewelled Tathāgata-images, moreover, being come into the interior of this land, and marking the limits in the Ten Directions, so long as those Tathāgata-images, standing in their several quarters, are made object of worship, so long will this land be not overthrown. Dissonant persons, natives of this land or natives of other lands, being made believers

¹ *Phye* (*Phyi*, K. 17 and B.)-se may possibly = *pise* = *Guru*, concerning which see *infra*, p. 89, n. 3, and Index.

² K. 17 has *Ke(Kas, B.)-di-ze*. ³ = *Sthāna*, “the Place”?

⁴ Does this mean “Trading woman’s abode”? The situation of this place (near the city) is not identified.

⁵ No doubt = Vijaya-Sambhava’s father (?) Yehu-la, concerning whom see *infra*, p. 104, n. 2.

⁶ = Karghalik: see *infra*, pp. 123, nn. 8, 9, 133, 150, and Index.

⁷ Di-na-dzya in the parish Hdi-ñe (p. 101, n. 5)? But the account of the image strongly resembles that given by Hiuan-Tsang (Beal, op. cit., ii, pp. 313–14) concerning the image in the Bhavaña monastery near the Khotan city: see *infra*, p. 125, n. 6. *Thor-koṅ* must be the *Tor-koṅ* of p. 317, and n. 11 (in the Hañ-gu-jo district of Khotan). K. 17 reads Di-dzya, B. Di-dzyo.

⁸ Dīpaṃkara = *Mar-me-mdzad*.

⁹ *Sic*.

¹⁰ *Hkhar-baḥi-mar-me-mdzad*.

in heart and respectful and immaculate in regard to these Tathāgata-images, with the thought that 'in these Tathāgata-images he has come to protect this land', these images themselves will serve as present Buddhas. 'Why so?', be it asked: it is because those shapes have been blessed, as like to me, by all the Buddhas attached to the Three Times. Moreover, in this land great images of me, conveyed in cars¹ and set up in the city named Dge-ba-can, will be made a great object of worship. Therefore into this land from its borders in quarter and quarter will come great masters of merchandise, and harm-doers will be quieted. Moreover, whereas in this land will arise Tathāgata images two hundred and eight, together with the *stūpa* of Kāśyapa, all these, displaying great miracles, will cleanse great sins of living beings and
 3476 extirpate evils. If evils and fears and panic arise in this land, then, in order to relieve it of its fears and in the desire to earn merit from the Sugata's doctrine, the kings and councillors who hold the land, having made provision for this land in its five quarters, should do meritorious works in the monastery named Tsar-ma.² 'Why so?', be it asked: the faith of the men of this land, the immaculate vision,³ had in that monastery its first birth. When to the Li kings and councillors and land-holders evils of any kind befall, they should circumambulate the spot on the hill Gośṛṅga where once the Buddha stayed. When living beings of this land would confess⁴ unvirtuous acts, they should make confession before the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da. 'Why so?', be it asked: whoever circumambulate that *stūpa*, as though Buddha, the Holy One, were there, and with flowers or incense or song or sound of music do worship, [for them] the five Deadly Sins⁵ are destroyed: of [lesser sins] what need to speak?

¹ On these car-processions (*raṭha-yātrā*) in Khotan see *infra*, p. 124, and Fa-hian *ap.* Beal, *op. cit.*, i, pp. xxvi-vii.

² On Tsh[h, K. 17 and B.]ar-ma see *infra*, pp. 104 sqq. and Index.

³ *dad-pa*-[*dañ*]-*yañ-dag-paḥi-lta-ba* = *śraddhā*, *samyag-dṛṣṭi*. ⁴ *bśags*.

⁵ *mtshams-med-pa-lha* = *pañca ānantarya*, on which see de la Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharma-kośa* (translation), Index.

Kings and councillors and land-holders of this land who desire to take vows of great asceticism ¹ should worship the Saṃgha where, on the hill Gośrṅga, is the Tathāgata image named Phye-se and the *stūpa* of Kāśyapa. 'Why so?', be it asked : it is because this land's perfected religious life and purified morals will come from there. If any persons of this land incur great retributions, ² should they go for succour to the Saṃgha of Āryas ³ situated on the hill Gośrṅga, thereupon they will be free of those great retributions. 'Why so?', be it asked : because in that place the winning of release, established during many Ten-Myriad ages, has never failed, therefore the hill Gośrṅga and the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da are the *chan-khyu* ⁴ of the Tathāgatas." 348a

Then at that time from the Buddha-realms ⁵ in the Ten Directions assembled Bodhi-sattvas twenty thousand, who, bowing with clasped hands towards the part where the Holy One was, with one voice prayed thus : "O Holy One, may we too by divers means make pure the way of the Tathāgata and this land and safeguard them : so long as the Sugata's doctrine and the Three Gems shall stand, and the kings, 348b councillors and so forth keep the moral people in the faith and the land in accord with religion, so long may we not desert it ; and in this land from time to time, in order to take birth with whatever and whatever-like a life-course and cloth we may ripen great merits in living beings, form their minds towards Buddhahood, tranquillize them in steady contemplation and trance, ⁶ and make them unrelapsing from [the way to] Buddhahood, may some [of us] assume royal lineage,

¹ *brtul-zugs*.

² *chad-pa-chen-po-ñig-la-thug*.

³ i.e. *Ārya-stana*, on which see *infra*, p. 108, and *supra*, p. 8.

⁴ *chan[d]*, B.M.; *lcags*, K. 17]-*khyu*, which only apparently occurs in the phrase *chan-khyu-ltshog* (S. C. Das' dictionary), "buffet with the fist", and which is not otherwise known, is found several times in the version of the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* (e.g. Mdo. 20, fol. 333a, 5, b, 6, 334a, 4, 336a, 7, in the form *chan-khyir* (*lag-tu-chañ-khyir*) with the sense of "protector", "city mayor". See Index and *Acta Orientalia*, xii, 68 sqq., xiii, 72 sqq.

⁵ *Sans-rgyas-kyi-ñin* = *Buddha-kṣetra*.

⁶ *bsam-gtan* and *tiñ-ne-ñdzin* = *āhyāna* and *saṃādhi*.

some assume the cloth of renouncement and others that of householders."

The Holy One pronounced: "Noble Youths, it is well: it is well. Noble Youths, do you in this land, which is thus life-land of all the Buddhas of the Good Æon and where the living beings shall be unrelapsing from Buddhahood, have such strength of heart."¹

Also at that time all the Devas, the Devas named Vaiśravaṇa and Ajita and the rest, entreated the Holy One thus: "O Holy One, through strength now given by the great Bodhi-sattvas for the protection of this land and
349a through the Holy One's blessing may we too be earnest with energy of great vigour, so as to safeguard the life-land of the Tathāgata and this land blessed by his blessing and not suffer it to fail. If fierce unbelieving Gru-gus² and so forth and armies of Hor² and Sum-pas² shall come into this land, may mutual strife arise among them, may there be discord in their following, and may they perish! Moreover, in order that, not coming here at all, they may be unable to destroy the Tathāgata's doctrine, may they be under lordship of others! Should Chinese armies have come, may their minds be made believing, and, in rendering rather service to this land and afterwards in creating merit in this land, may they do widespread good! When they do harm to the living beings of this land, even then may they become believers again and hold this *sūtra* in esteem! When in time not yet come, desiring control of the goods of the Three Gems, they
349b steal their lustre³ and do mischief to meritorious beings, at that time may we appoint from our following divers Yakṣas, believing and unbelieving, and despatch them with orders to cause in those countries, in some way or other, a lasting decline and, that they be unable to ruin this land, make famine and disease and foreign armies prevent their coming.

¹ *chu-yañ* "virtue", "honesty" (Jaeschke); *sattva*, *snñ-stobs* (the lexicon of Tshe-rin-dbañ-rgyal): cf. Schiefner, *Dzans-blum*, pp. 116, 2, 241, 18.

² See Index.

³ K. 17 and B. "steal largely" (*mañ-du*).

The wealth of the Li land coveted of them may we make inauspicious, and in all lands where it may come may it be unbeneficial¹ and contentious; and may we make their land-holders and army-commanders to fail. To the armies of Tibet also may it so be known: whenever they hold and protect this land in accord with religion, may we, on our part, safeguard them and make them to conquer. When they ruin the Sugata's doctrine and do evil to the people of the country, at that time may we cause dissension to arise in their armies and their army-commanders in little time to fail! If those flourish, [may it be] as before! If in time to come kings and councillors of this land, crooked² in mind, of slight merit, void of faith, grasping in the indentures of taxation³ upon the property of the Three Gems, contravene the land's^{350a} census⁴ and, not discovering wealth (?), confer dignities⁵ and assail meritorious persons with accusations⁶ and, consorting with the shameless, are insatiate in enjoyment of desires,⁷ causing trouble of mind on the part of those who have renounced, may they by us be made to leave this land and exiled⁸ to other and other inferior lands; so that in this way the land may be purified and guarded. O Holy One, in the subsequent Age of Strife, if, with the thought of ruining this land, wicked partisans of the Evil One, being strong and mighty, cause the faith of the people in the lands to fall away, and mischievous-minded, rough, Devas and Nāgas and Yakṣas and Rākṣasas⁹ of various kinds appear, should they too be not under our control, against them may we find the due means."

The Holy One pronounced: "Noble Youths, be not perturbed in mind. 'Why so?', be it asked: in this Dvīpa-tetrad¹⁰ abide Bodhi-sattvas and Devas of great might, and

¹ *smān-yaṇ-mi-thog*: *smān-yaṇ* is a common phrase.

² *gya-gyu*.

³ *hjol-nag[ñog]*, K. 17 and B.] *tu-rlom-zin*: *on ñag* = *ña-ga* "a wooden indent" see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 184.

⁴ *rtsis-mgo*, on which see Index.

⁵ *go-hphan-hohol-ba*.

⁶ *sun-hbyin-du-rgol-ba*.

⁷ *hdod-paḥi-yaṇ-tan* = *kāma-guṇa*.

⁸ *spyugs-par-bgyis*.

⁹ *srin-po*.

¹⁰ *glin-bāi* = *catur-dvīpa*.

Nāgas and Yakṣas many, in charge of localities¹: to them with mild mind let great worship be paid, and at the *stūpa*
 350b Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da, the monastery Tsar-ma and so forth, places blessed with blessing, let Mahāyāna *sūtras*, the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, *Mahā-saṃnipāta*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, *Ratna-kūṭa*² and so forth, many and of great extent, be recited; then from the several lands Bodhi-sattvas, of the Ten Stages³ and so on, and those beings of great might will come into this land and, considering the remnant⁴ of religion, will cause it not to fall away from the vows of the Tathāgatas belonging to the Three Times, will protect the life-way of the Buddhas of the Good Æon⁵ and the land, and will safeguard the people of this land and the doctrine. Moreover, in times not yet come, if kings of this Dge-ba land shall be weak and because of that weakness unable by their own strength to hold the land, they must guard it by seeking protection from other believing kings, such as the king of Tibet, the king of China and so forth. 'Why so?', be it asked: in the lands of China and Tibet the Three Gems will in times not yet come be established and made a great object of worship, and those lands too will be abodes of great Bodhi-sattvas: those
 351a peoples also, having a disposition to seek the way⁶ of the great Bodhi-sattvas, will apply themselves to faithful meditation upon the Mahāyāna: through their power and might the people of the Li land and the Three Gems will not be subverted. O excellent beings, you too will cause the kings and councillors of Tibet and China to show respect, in whatever way, to the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and this land Dge-ba and to make this land have great store of good, of the substance named merits. The people of this land, even

¹ *sa-ihob-pa*.

² *Ses-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*; *Hdus-pa-chen-po*; *Sans-rgyas-phal-po-che*; *Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa*. On these *sūtras* see Professor Pelliot in *JAs.*, xi, iv (1914), pp. 118 sqq., and on their popularity in Khotan and the adjacent country see Lévi, op. cit., v, pp. 255-6, and *infra*, p. 91. "Recited" is *lhogs*.

³ *sa-bcu* = *daśa-bhūmi*. ⁴ *ro*: Or "savour"? ⁵ See *supra*, pp. 13-14.

⁶ *lam-tshal-bahi-nan-tshul-can*.

when roaming in other, unbelieving lands of the west, do you conduct happily back, without suffering, into their own land : may they become again pure in vision and minded to take delight in merits. Being through the strength of that store of good, O excellent beings, increased in store of good and lustre and splendour and following, and being thus near to Buddhahood, show your gratitude to the teaching of the Tathāgatas belonging to the Three Times. Thus shall the people of this land, not falling away, having the actions of Bodhi-sattvas, be compassionate, truthful, liberal,¹ free from envy² and rancour, grateful, delighting in religion, of pure vision, avoiding all perverted views, mild-minded ; and for that reason they shall be known as Dge-ba people.³ The city also of this land will be adorned with kindly and mild-minded people, well-disposed in regard to⁴ *stūpas* and monasteries : therefore will the city be Dge-ba-can. Moreover, unbelieving and at first malignant persons from other lands, when they come to this land, being touched by the dust of this land and enjoying the life of the natives of the land, will all be of changed mind : they will become mild-minded, of kind intent, free from anger and rancour, believers, doing in this land no sin. Such virtues has this land.” 351b

Then at that time the Holy One, having first even thrice made blessing, emitted a light accompanied by a great compassion, which, having made perfectly pure and happy the minds of the beings in the water, returned from within the water and suffused all the realms of the Buddhas of the Ten Directions. Again those lights returned ; and, blending therewith, the light of the lands blessed by the great Bodhi-sattvas and of the lands blessed by the Great Disciples⁵ and of the Tathāgata-images seated upon the lotuses risen from the lake mounted into the skies and, enveloping the upper heaven, 352a

¹ *gton-phod.* ² *phrag-dog.*

³ Here we have the clearest of the many indications that the name translated *Dge-ba* sounded like, or denoted, *kusala* or *punya*.

⁴ *sems-bryān.* But K. 17 and B. *du-mas*°, “adorned with many.”

⁵ *ñān-thos* = *śrāvaka*. On the sixteen Great Disciples v. p. 106.

let fall upon all the lands of Li a rain of Deva flowers. From the mutual contact of those Deva flowers there came annunciation of religion¹ on this wise²: Proclamation of the names of Buddha and Dharma and Samgha, of Right Vision and Wisdom and Morality, and Store of Good, and Self-mortification of Tathāgatas, and Vows, and Miracles of Bodhi-sattvas, and Edification of Living Beings, and Constant Streaming of the Four Fruits of Novicehood, and Once-returning, and Not-returning, and Arhat, and Certain Escape from the Estate of the Triple Universe, and the Three Gates of Deliverance, and Waning of *Samskāras*, and Memory at Command, and the Noble Truths, and Supernatural Powers, and Contemplation, and Winning Arts, and Conscious Knowledge, and Form-transcending Abstractednesses, and Immacu-
 352b lation of Senses, and All Phenomena in Accord with the Side of Enlightenment. Moreover, there was proclaiming of Immaculation of Thought, and the Accessories of Enlightenment, and the Noble Path, and the Abstractednesses, and the Stages, and the Strengths, and Compassion, and the Great Charity, and Conditioned Origination, and Removal of Doubt, and Indefeasibility of Enlightenment, and Trance, and Realization, and Resignation to what has not yet come to pass, and Non-Confusion, and Translation into Buddhahood, and Impermanence, and Suffering, and Void of Self, and Vacuity, and Actionlessness, and Non-Birth, and Non-Error, and Finality, and Sphere of Immediate Thought Penetrating to the Tathāgata Quintessence, and Objects of Direct Knowledge of Yogins, and Birth and Suffering, and Old Age, and Separation from the Liked, and Conjunction with the

¹ *chos-kyi-sgo-mo* : Evidently this expression corresponds to the *dharma-mukha* of the *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, p. 335, l. 14, and Professor Bendall's note. *Mukha* will have the same force as in *dāna-mukha*, *āya-mukha*, etc. (see *JRAS.* 1915, pp. 97-9; *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, 72), and perhaps in such book-titles as *Nyāya-mukha* : here it seems to denote a celebration of the topics of the religion. Cf. *rtsis-kyi-sgo-mo*, p. 276, n. 5, and Index.

² For a table of the topics mentioned in the following passage, and of their equivalents in Tibetan and Sanskrit, see the note, pp. 35-8.

Disliked, and Pain of Non-attainment of Desires. Moreover, there was proclaiming of No Being save the Five Skandhas, and Curelessness, and Soullessness, and Lifelessness, and Religious Truths, Non-Origination, Non-Annihilation, Non-Permanence, Non-Destruction, Non-coming, Non-departing, and Family of the Three Gems, and Blessing, and Illusion of the Five States of Existence like a Dream, and *Samskāras* of Transmigration like a Prison and like a Trickery and a Mirage and a Moon in Water and Echo from a Rock. Moreover, Faith, and Realization, and Energy, and the Path of the Ten Virtues, and Weariness of Transmigration—such and the like proclamations in hundreds of thousands there were. Those many assembled retinues and all those Bodhi-sattvas, gathered from quarter and quarter, and Devas and Nāgas abiding in the earth, and Devas and Yakṣas abiding in the sky, were all amazed, and, filled with delight, gave unwavering attention to the sound of that annunciation of Religion. 353a

Then at that time, in order that those retinues might understand, the magnanimous Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī, the Youth, entreated the Holy One thus: "O Holy One, wherefore have such great miracles been displayed?" The Holy One, with the Brahma utterance,¹ pronounced: "O Mañjuśrī, these annunciations of religion, over and above the blessing, have been manifested for the sake of beings born of the land Dge-ba and for the sake of the Four Orders. Through this annunciation of religion the Bodhi-sattvas, being with little trouble and little exertion made pure in senses and knowledge, will realize such and such annunciations of religion. Future beings, down to little children, delighting to realize the religion, will even in play talk of these annunciations of religion. With senses perfectly rectified, with the eye of religion made pure, those beings will even behold the body of the Tathāgata. With the ear of religion made pure, they will hear the religion 353b

¹ *Tshaṅs-paḥi-dbyaṅs* = *Brahma-svara* (or °-*ghoṣa*), a solemn, murmuring intonation of Vedic texts.

in perfect correctness. They will save their minds from all *saṃskāras* of Transmigration and all phenomena. Through such a spirit those who in this vacant¹ land which has been blessed or on the hill Gośṛṅga shall be strenuous on the side of good will all have Attainment. Even Māra, the sinful, will find no opening: of others what need to speak? This being so, even should the Devas pass sentence upon their courtiers, Yakṣas or Gandharvas or Kinnaras, these, taking refuge in the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and the hill Gośṛṅga, will not be seen by them: even if condemned and seen,² [the gods'] minds will be appeased. For that reason the hill Gośṛṅga and the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da deserve to be
 354a marked off and sanctified and protected and hailed with homage by beings residing even in other World-realms.³ As many as, hearing the name of the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and the hill Gośṛṅga and the land Dge-ba and the city Dge-ba-can and the blessed hermitages, believe therein will be cleansed of great sin."

Then at that time the Holy One pronounced to Āyusmant Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa: "Noble Youths, do you two go and in this great lake break down the mountain of *Śa*⁴ and overturn it in the Śo-[r]tsaṅ-po⁵ which is on the north side. Guard the beings which dwell in the water, that they be not hurt. Make this land to have manifest borders."

¹ Or "in this land blessed as a hermitage" (*dgon-pa*).

² *brgya-la-mthoṅ-na*: on *brgya-la* see Index.

³ *hjiḡ-rten-gyi-khams* = *loka-dhātu*.

⁴ *śa* [B.M.M. *śa*] *hi-ri*: Meaning doubtful; *śa* means "flesh" in Tibetan, and that is out of place. Does the word represent Chinese *sha* "sand", or is it the word *sai*, used in modern Turkestan to denote a certain gravel formation (Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Index)? Or is the reading *śar-ri* "eastern hill", of the separate text (K. 17), possibly original and not a mistaken emendation? There is, no doubt, a punning reference to the name of Śāriputra (cf. p. 307, n. 4). In the *Prophecy of the Li Country*, *infra*, the mountain is called *Samaṇsaraṇa*; see p. 95 and n. 7.

⁵ *Śo-rtsaṅ-po*: The expression *śo-rtsaṅ* has been discussed in *JRAS.* 1930, p. 275, where it has been wrongly taken to mean "toll-granary". Is *rtsaṅ-po* perhaps = *gtsaṅ-po*, so that the meaning should be "the river So"? This would correspond to the Chinese name, *Shon-pa*, of the Yurungkash (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 171).

Then the great Disciple Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa, saying "So will we", by their miraculous power repaired through the sky to where was the mountain of Śa; and, Śāriputra holding his mendicant's staff,¹ Vaiśravaṇa his lance,² they dried half of the mountain of Śa and, taking it, set it down on the western side and made a great watercourse.³ The lake with its living beings they transferred into the middle of the Śo-rtsaṅ-po. In this wise they disclosed the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and the hill Gośrāṅga and the land of Li.

Then the Holy One committed the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and the rest to the eight magnanimous Bodhi-sattvas, Ārya Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya and the rest, and to 354b Bodhi-sattvas two myriads, together with sages, and to the eight great Devas, Vaiśravaṇa, Gṛhadāha and the rest, with their retinue of three myriads, five thousands and five hundreds; and those Devas abode [accepted them (*mnos*) K. 17, B] there accordingly. The Holy One also approved.

The Holy One having thus pronounced, all those retinues joyfully greeted the Holy One's utterance.

End of the *Ārya-Gośrāṅga-vyākaraṇa*, a Mahāyāna sūtra.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The technical terms cited in the passage pp. 32-3 *supra*, along with their Tibetan and Sanskrit equivalents, are these:—

English.	Tibetan.	Sanskrit.
Right Vision	<i>yan-dag-paḥi-lta</i>	<i>saṃyag-dṛṣṭi</i>
Wisdom	<i>śes-rab</i>	<i>prajñā</i>

¹ *mkhar-sil*.

² *mdun*.

³ *chu-srol*: Or is *chu-srol* a "dam"? Concerning the incident of. pp. 90, 95-6 and 307, n. 6: in the last of these the sense is clear. For "dried half" (*phyed-skam*) K. 17 has *phyed-stam*, B. *phyid-stan*.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Tibetan.</i>	<i>Sanskrit.</i>
Morality	<i>tshul-khrims</i>	<i>śīla</i>
Store of Good	<i>dge-baḥi-rtsa-ba</i>	<i>kuśala-mūla</i>
Self-mortification	<i>dkah-baḥi-spyod-pa</i>	<i>duṣkara-caryā</i>
Vows	<i>smoṇ-lam</i>	<i>praviḍhāna</i>
Miracles	<i>rdzu-hphrul</i>	<i>ṛddhi</i>
Edification	<i>yoṇs-su-smin-pa</i>	<i>paripāka</i>
Constant Streaming of the Four Fruits of Novicehood	<i>dge-sbyoṇ-gi-hbras-bu- bzi-po-rgyun-tu-žugs- pa</i>	<i>śrāmaṇya-phala-saṃ- panna (°saṃpatti?) srota-āpanna?)</i>
Once-Returning	<i>lan-cig-gi-phyir-ḥoṇ- ba</i>	<i>sakrī-āgāmin</i>
Not-Returning	<i>phyir-mi-ḥoṇ-ba</i>	<i>an-āgāmin</i>
Arhat	<i>dgra-bcom-pa</i>	<i>arhat</i>
Escape from the Estate of the Triple Universe	<i>kham-s gsum - gyi-srid - pa-las-ñes-pa-hbyin- pa</i>	<i>traiḍhātuka-bhava- *niṣkrama (nirvāṇa)</i>
The Three Gates of Deliverance	<i>rnam-par-thar-paḥi-sgo- gsum</i>	<i>vimokṣa-mukha-tritaya</i>
Waning of <i>Samṣkāras</i>	<i>ḥdu-byed-hjig-pa</i>	<i>*saṃskāra-saṃpramoṣa</i>
Memory at Command	<i>dran-pa-ñe-bar-gzag-pa</i>	<i>smṛty-upasthāna</i>
The Noble Truths	<i>hphags-paḥi-bden-pa</i>	<i>ārya-satya</i>
Supernatural Powers	<i>rdzu-hphrul-gyi-rkaṇ-pa</i>	<i>ṛddhi-pāda</i>
Contemplation	<i>bsam-gtan</i>	<i>dhyāna</i>
Winning arts	<i>bsdu-baḥi-dnos-po</i>	<i>saṃgraha-vastu</i>
Conscious knowledge	<i>so-so-yaṇ-dag-pa-rig-pa</i>	<i>pratisaṃvid</i>
Form-transcending Abstractednesses	<i>gzugs-med-paḥi-ñoms- par-hjug-pa</i>	<i>ārūpya-samāpattayaḥ</i>
Immaculation of Senses	<i>dbaṇ-po-yoṇs-su-dag-pa</i>	<i>indriya-pariśuddhi</i>
All Phenomena in ac- cord with the Side of Enlightenment	<i>byaṇ-chub-kyi-phyogs- daṇ - mikhun - paḥi - chos-mihah-dag</i>	<i>bodhi-pakṣa *anuguna- samasta-dharma</i>
Immaculation of Thought	<i>sems-yoṇs-su-dag-pa</i>	<i>citta-pariśuddhi</i>
The Accessories of Enlightenment	<i>byaṇ-chub-kyi-yaṇ-lag</i>	<i>bodhy-aṅga</i>
The Noble Path	<i>hphags-paḥi-lam</i>	<i>ārya-mārga</i>
Abstractednesses	<i>ñoms-par-hjug-pa</i>	<i>samāpatti</i>
Stages	<i>sa</i>	<i>bhūmi</i>
Strengths	<i>stobs</i>	<i>bala</i>
Compassion	<i>thugs-rje</i>	<i>karuṇā</i>
The Great Charity	<i>byams-pa-chen-po</i>	<i>mahā-maitrī</i>
Conditioned Origination	<i>rten - ciṇ - ḥbrel - par - hgyur-pa</i>	<i>pratītya-samutpāda</i>
Removal of Doubt	<i>the-tshom-sel-ba</i>	<i>vicikitsā-apoha</i>
Indefeasibility of En- lightenment	<i>saṅs-rgyas-ñid-las-mi- ldog-pa</i>	<i>bodhy-anāpatti</i>
Trance	<i>tin-ñe-ḥdzin</i>	<i>saṃādhi</i>
Realization	<i>mñon-par-rtogs-pa</i>	<i>abhisamaya</i>

<i>English.</i>	<i>Tibetan.</i>	<i>Sanskrit.</i>
Resignation to what has not yet come to pass	mi-skye-baḥi-chos-la-bzod-pa	anupattika - dharmakṣānti
Non-confluence	mi-hdres-pa	asaṃbheda (°srṣṭi)
Translation into Buddhahood	saṅs - rgyas - ṅid - du - ḥgyur-ba	bodhi-pariṇāmanā
Impermanence	mi-rtag-pa	anityatā, aśāśvatatā
Suffering	sdug-bsnal-ba	duḥkha
Void of Self	bdag-med-pa	anātmatā, nairātmya
Vacuity	ston-pa	śūnyatā
Actionlessness ?	ma-byas-pa	*a[samṣ ?]kṛtva
Non-birth	ma-skyes-pa	a-jāti
Non-error	phyin-ci-ma-log-pa	a-viparyāsa
Finality	yaṅ-dag-paḥi-mthaḥ	bhūta-koṭī
Non-discursive Thought	de-bzin-gśegs-paḥi-sñin-po-khoṅsu-rtogs-pa	tathāgata - garbha - avabodha - avicāra (nirvikalpaka)-jñāna-bodha
Penetrating to the Tathāgata Quintessence	rnām - par - mi - rtog - paḥi - ye - śes - rtogs - pa	
Objects of immediate personal knowledge of Yogins	rnal-ḥbyor-pa-rnams-kyis-so-so-raṅ-gi-rig-paḥi-spyod-yul	yogi - pratyātma - vedānīya-viśaya
Separation from the Liked	sdug-pa-daṅ-bral-ba	priya-viprayoga
Conjunction with the Disliked	mi-sdug-pa-daṅ-phrad-pa	apriya-saṃprayoga
Pain of Non-attainment of Desires	hdod-pa-btsal-te-ma-rñed-paḥi-sdug-bsnal	yad apīcchayā paryeṣamāṇo na labhate tad-duḥkham
No Being save (in ?) the Five Skandhas	phun-po-lña-dag-las-sems-can-med-pa	skandha - pañcakā [tirikta] - niḥsattvatā
Cure and Soul and Lifelessness	gso-ba-, gaṅ-zag-, srog-med-pa	*niś - cikitsā - prudgalajīva-tva
Religious Truths	chos-bden-pa	dharmasatya
Non-Origination	skye-ba-med-pa	a-jāti, a-samudaya
Non-Annihilation	ḥgag-pa-med-pa	a-nirodha
Non-Permanence	rtag-pa-med-pa	a-nityatā, a-śāśvatatā
Non-Destruction	chad-pa-med-pa	an-uccheda
Non-Coming	hoṅs-pa-med-pa	an-āgati
Non-Departing	ḥgro-ba-med-pa	a-gati
Family of the Three Gems	dkon-mchog-gsum-gyi-gdur	ratna-traya-kula
Blessing	byin-gyis-brlabs	adhiṣṭhāna
Illusion of the Five States of Existence, like a Dream	ḥgro - ba - lña - po - dag-gi-ḥphrul-pa	*svapnopama - gati - pañcaka-nirmāṇa
Samskāras of Transmigration like a Prison	ḥkhor-baḥi-hdu-byed-rtson-ra-lta-bu	*bandhana-agāra (kāragṛha) - upama - samsāra-samskāra

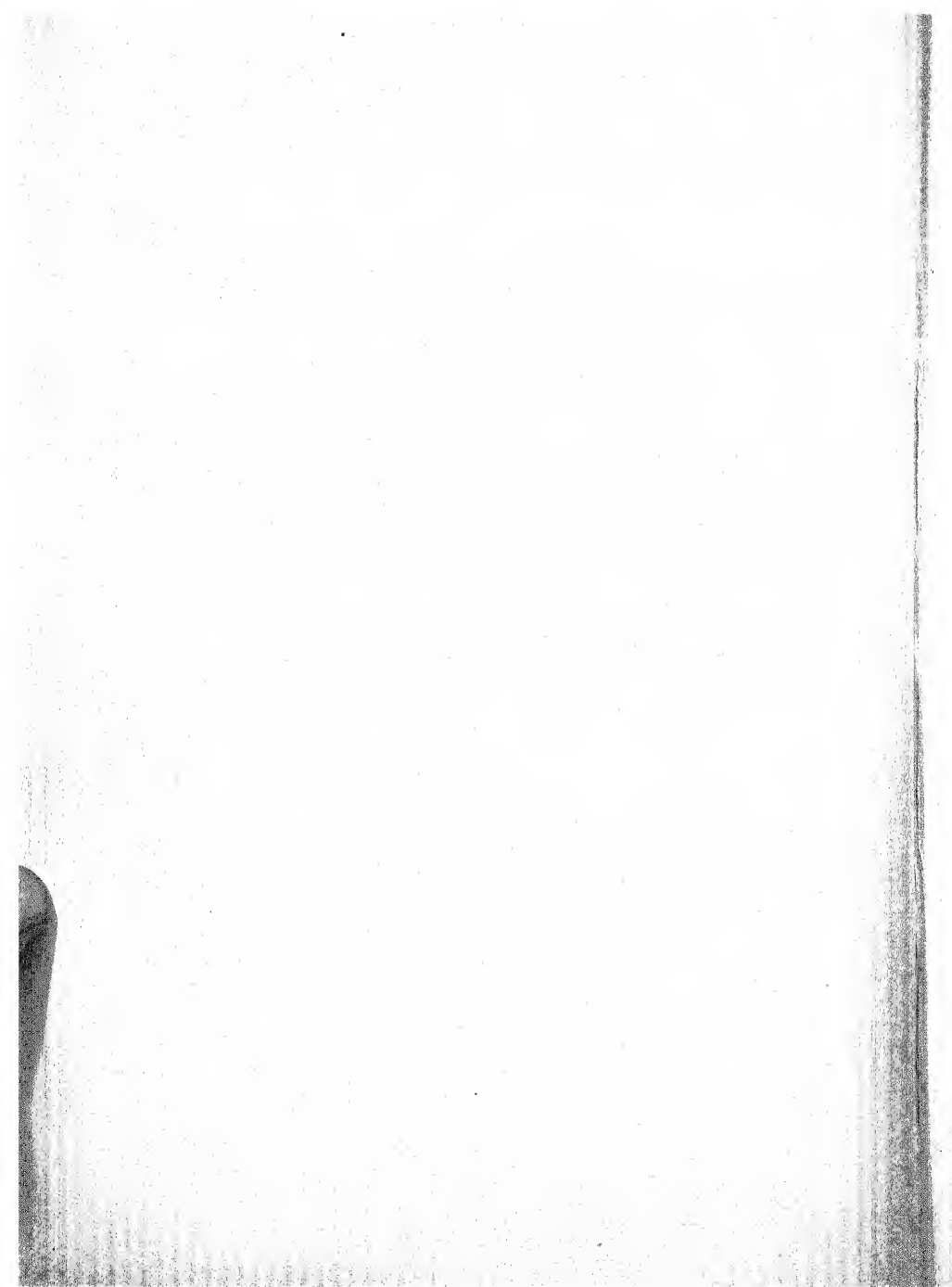
<i>English.</i>	<i>Tibetan.</i>	<i>Sanskrit.</i>
Faith	<i>dad-pa</i>	<i>śraddhā</i>
Realization	<i>mñon-par-rtogs-pa</i>	<i>abhisamaya</i>
Energy	<i>brtson-hgrus</i>	<i>vīrya</i>
Path of the Ten Virtues	<i>dge-ba-bcuhi-las-kyi-lam</i>	<i>daśa - kuśala - karma- patha</i>
Weariness of Trans- migration	<i>hkhor-bas-skyo-bar-gyur-pa</i>	<i>*samsāra - kheda - (vairāgya)</i>

In working out these correspondences I have been much indebted to the publications (*Abhidharma-kośa*, etc.) and also the personal help of our greatest authority in this field, Professor L de la Vallée Poussin. The, whole or part, expressions distinguished by an asterisk are those which have been not found in actual occurrence, but constructed.

Further variations of reading in K. 17 and B. may be noted, as follows:—

- p. 15. For Bi-si-mo-ña, K. 17 °so-no°, B. °no°.
- p. 16. For Ba-no-co, B. Be-no-tso.
- p. 24. For Kihu-lañ, K. 17 Ka-hi°, B. Kehu°.
For Phye-ma, K. 17 Bye°.
For Šen-že, K. 17 Še-na-ža.
- p. 25. For “take counsel”, K. 17 and B. “assist” (*grogs*).
For Cu-gon-pan, K. 17 Beu-gor°, B. Cu-go-ban.
- p. 26, n. 4. For *bsags*, K. 17 and B. *hehags*.
- p. 27, l. 1. For “worship” (*mchod*), K. 17 and B. “receive instruction from” (*mmod*).
- p. 29, ll. 16–17. For “consorting with the shameless”, K. 17 and B. “shameless, reviling” (*rñan-dus-can?*).

The Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardhana



THE PROPHECY OF THE ARHAT SAMGHAVARDHANA

(*Arhat-Samghavardhana-vyākaraṇa* or *Dgra-bcom-pa-Dge-hdun-hphel-gyi-luñ-bstan-pa*)

This text, which is contained in the *Bstan-hgyur*, Volume Ne (94), folios 412–20, was used by Rockhill in his *Life of the Buddha* (pp. 230 sqq.) and by Śarat Candra Das in his “Buddhist and other Legends about Khoten” (*JASB.*, vol. lv, 1886, pp. 193–203). A full translation, which here appears in a revised form, was published in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, iii, pp. 31 sqq.

The narrative being in the main identical in substance with that contained in the following text (3: *The Prophecy of the Li Country*), it is advisable to embrace both in a single consideration.

The Prophecy of the Li Country is, as we shall see, preserved in two MSS. belonging to a time probably not later than the ninth or tenth century A.D., which were procured by Sir A. Stein from the hidden library of Ch'ien-fo-tung (Tun-huang). In a recension stylistically somewhat different it immediately follows in the *Bstan-hgyur* the *Prophecy of the Arhat Samghavardhana*. We have therefore several possibilities. The *Bstan-hgyur* version might be an independent translation of an original of that of Tun-huang; and in favour of this we might cite the fact that it frequently uses the Khotan term *ban-de* (Sanskrit *vandya*, Nepālī *bandya*, Chinese *bonze*), where the Tun-huang text is content with the Tibetan equivalent of *bhikṣu* “monk”, namely *dge-slon*. This, however, is inconclusive, since a Tibetan editor may have had reasons for preferring the term *ban-de*, which was perfectly familiar. Also, the verbal correspondence between the two recensions is sufficiently close to preclude such independence. Moreover, there is, in fact, no evidence that the work is a

translation : we have no statement to that effect ; and the knowledge which we now have of the extensive employment of the Tibetan language in Chinese Turkestan during several centuries and the probability that the Tun-huang text was composed in that region render the hypothesis of a translation superfluous. Since we know generally, and have seen in the case of the *Gośrīga Prophecy*, that a Tibetan text was liable to revision, it is intelligible that the *Bstan-hgyur* version should be such a recension of the text from Tun-huang.

There are two further points bearing upon the likelihood that this text originated either in Tun-huang or in Tibet itself, and rather in the former than the latter. The first is the mention of the So-byi (p. 78, n. 8), who are clearly the people designated by the term *Supiya* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents edited by the Abbé Boyer, Professor Rapson, and M. É. Senart (see the Index). In the other works connected with Khotan the Tibetan term *Sum-pa* is used. With this fact we may, further, associate the failure of the text to make mention of the places Gus-tig and Par-mkhan, which appear in the *Prophecy of Saṃghavardhana* and which were certainly adjacent to the western, or Khotan, region of Chinese Turkestan. The second fact, which is complementary, is the reference in the text (p. 84) to a revival of the religion of *D(T)ehū-si* (the Tao of Lao-tse ; *Dou-si* in Huth, *Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, II, pp. 101-2) in China. This occurrence, which may have invited attention in Tun-huang or Tibet, would hardly have been appreciated in Khotan ; and, in fact, it is not noted in the *Prophecy of Saṃghavardhana*.

These considerations may suffice to show (1) that the story told in the two *Prophecies* originated not later than the ninth or tenth century A.D. and (2) that the shorter one, the *Prophecy of the Li Country*, was composed, like that noted p. 52 *infra*, in the Tun-huang region. We must now further examine the relations between the two versions.

The two texts, in general agreement, put into the mouth

of an Arhat Samghavardhana of Khotan, residing temporarily in a monastery called Śaṅkā-prahāṇa, a prophecy of the ruin of Buddhism in Khotan and the adjacent countries, followed by its downfall in Tibet, Gandhāra, and India (Kauśāmbī). They describe the despair of the Khotan monks ; their decision to abandon their country and to enter Tibet ; the incidents of their rather gradual withdrawal ; their trials on the way into Tibet ; their hospitable reception by the Tibetan king and his Chinese wife, Koṇ-co ; the building of seven monasteries and the prosperity of the Samghas during three (twelve, p. 314, n. 10, *infra*) years, in the course of which they are joined by similarly exiled monks from countries adjacent to Khotan, including Kāśmīr ; a plague of pox in Tibet, resulting in the expulsion of all the foreign monks, together with their Tibetan and Chinese confrères, who elect to share their fate ; the sufferings of the large company on the long journey to Gandhāra ; their reception in Gandhāra, their vicissitudes there, and their expulsion after three years ; the flight of the survivors into India and the dispute which ended with their utter destruction in Kauśāmbī.

The correspondence in matter and partly in expression is such that one of the two texts must be based to a great extent upon the other. That the *Prophecy of Samghavardhana* is by far the older is perfectly certain. For a *Prophecy of Samghavardhana* is mentioned in the *Vimalaprabhā-paripṛcchā*, a work which, as we shall see *infra* (pp. 163-4), is of a date not later than the eighth century A.D. It is highly probable that a prediction ascribed to an Arhat Samghavardhana existed long before that period. Very possibly, also, there was in early times an Arhat Samghavardhana, belonging to the monastery Phru-ño. But the statement in the second *Prophecy* which makes him a contemporary of the Vijaya-Kīrti, in the seventh generation of Khotan kings (say in the first century A.D.), may be due to a confusion ; for the monastery Phru-ño was founded by a king Vijaya-Kīrti (not stated to be of the seventh generation) on behalf of an Arhat

probably of similar name, Dharmavardhana (see *infra*, p. 118, n. 4). A definite statement of Tārānāth (translation, p. 78), followed by the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan* of Ye-śes-dpal-hbyor (ed. Śarat Candra Das, p. 88), makes Saṃghavardhana contemporary with a number of persons, mostly well known by name: these are Kālidāsa, Saptavarman (= Sarvavarman), the Vaibhāṣika *ācārya* Vāmana, Kuṇāla of Kāśmīr, Kṣemaṃkara of Aparānta, an *ācārya* Kumārālābha (*lāta*), a certain Hariścandra, and a king of the south, by name Haribhadra: yet the time is approximated to the beginning of Musalman incursions (eighth century A.D.). Conflicting, and for the most part nugatory, as these indications are—and it is not known whence they are derived—they may yet contain a grain of truth. For Saṃghavardhana, if he lived in, say, the third or fourth century A.D., may have belonged to the same general period as Sarvavarman and Kumārālāta, the latter being of about the third century A.D. (see Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumārālāta*, pp. 17 sqq., and “*Kātantra und Kumārālāta*”, *SPAW.*, 1930, pp. 537–8); while the *Prophecy*, in the redaction which we have, originated, no doubt, during the times of the first effects of Musalman invasions in the countries adjacent to Chinese Turkestan.

From an early time, as we know from the Pali *Vinaya*, Buddhism, like other religions (Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Islam), predicted its own decay, the period originally contemplated being 500 years. The oldest text containing a definite account of the last days (in Kauśāmbī) is the *Aśoka-avadāna*, concerning which, as also concerning the Buddhist eschatology in general, it is sufficient to refer to Professor Przyluski's original and valuable chapter (pp. 161–85) in his *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*. Such ideas being current through the Buddhist world, it seems highly natural that there should have been in Khotan an old *Prophecy* of the same nature, applied to its own Buddhism.

With the advance of time it was necessary, as Professor Przyluski shows, to adjust the period of 500 years. In

Samghavardhana's *Prophecy* the decline begins after 1500 years and is completed after 2000 years. The period of 2000 years is said to have been read in the Dharma and Vinaya ; hence it can have no relation to Samghavardhana's own time, since the Khotan chronology, as we shall see *infra* (pp. 97-8, n. 12), placed the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha about 475 B.C.

It is evident that the original *Prophecy* of Samghavardhana can have contained only generalities (with a certain local colour), as we find in the first part of the present text. It cannot have referred to the Tibetan kingdom, then non-existent, or to the actual occurrences related. But a question remains in regard to the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, a work of perhaps the fourth century A.D., of which a Khotan fragment has been edited (Hoernle, *Buddhist Remains*, pp. 103-8)—the Chinese version by Narendrayaśas (A.D. 566) having been described and extensively used by Professor Sylvain Lévi in his "Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde" (*BÉFÉ-O.*, v, pp. 261 sqq.). The answer to the question depends upon the concluding part of the *Prophecy*, that relating to the events in Kauśāmbī. This is the old story (which perhaps was present to the mind of Hiuan-Tsang ; see Beal, *op. cit.*, i, p. 237) of the three kings, Saka, Yavana, and Pahlava, who invaded India and were defeated by king Duśprasaha, or Durdharṣa, of Kauśāmbī, after which Buddhism came by its end in that country. From the Tibetan fragment of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (*Bkaḥ-hgyur*, Mdo, 'Aḥ (32), foll. 216 sqq.) it was related in 1848 by Schiefner (*Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çākya-munis*, pp. 318-20); from the *Aśoka-avadāna* and *Karma-śataka* by Wassiliew-Schiefner in the notes to the translation of Tārānāth (pp. 307-10) ; from our present texts by Rockhill and Ś. C. Das (*opp. cit.*) ; lastly, we have the translation of the *Aśoka-avadāna* by Professor Przyluski (*op. cit.*, chap. ix, pp. 398-427).¹ Did Samghavardhana make use of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, which was, no doubt, popular in Khotan and which the other *Prophecy* definitely names as the occasion

¹ Add now Leumann's *Das Nordarische Lehrgedicht*, pp. 312 sqq.

for his prediction? From the notes on the passage it will be seen that in the nomenclature, which differs in the different versions, the *Prophecy*, although agreeing best with that of the *Candragarbha* (and *Nordar.-Lehrg.*), diverges therefrom in some points. It is, therefore, not certain that the *Prophecy* made use of that particular work; and, since it does not mention such a source, whereas the other *Prophecy* refers thereto, the probabilities are against that. It is therefore possible that the *Prophecy* of Saṃghavardhana, in its original form, was not later in date than the *Candragarbha-sūtra*.

We come now to the additions which give to the *Prophecy* its present form. These include all the incidents, for the most part of great verisimilitude and with details of local names, connected with the departure of the monks from Khotan, their experiences in Tibet, and their expulsion from that country. As concerns the Gandhāra episode, which is not mentioned in the *Aśoka-avadāna* or the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, it is so linked with what ensued in India that it *may* have been part of the original story. The particularization of the three kings defeated by Duṣprasaha or Durdharṣa, as the Stag-gzig of Srigh-ni, the Dru-gu, and the Tibetan, whereas the other *Prophecy* still retains the earlier Yavana, etc., is a mere accommodation to the times. The date of the events related is fixed by the reference to the Tibetan Bodhi-sattva king Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms (b. c. A.D. 693, king A.D. 705, d. A.D. 755) and his Chinese wife Kim-śen Koñ-co, who came to Tibet in A.D. 710 and died in A.D. 740-1. Since the Tibetan *Rāja-vamśa* (*Rgyal-rabs*), *Bkaḥ-hgyur* Index (fol. 14 a 5), and *Padma-thaṅ-yig* (i, 7 a 4) make mention of a connection with Khotan Buddhists, of plague, and of an anti-Buddhist movement in Tibet during that time, all of which points appear in the *Prophecy*, the general veracity of the latter is here established. Nor does confirmation fail in regard to other particulars. Thus, as concerns China we are told that "The monks of the country of China also, being much plagued with troubles, will go into Gandhāra", while the other *Prophecy*

actually mentions an adoption of the religion of *Dehu-si* by the Chinese king : in M. Cordier's *History of China* (vol. i, p. 569) we are told that the Emperor Yuan-Tsung (A.D. 712-754) favoured Taoism. As regards the western countries, whose fleeing monks are stated to have joined the Khotan monks in Tibet, namely 'An-tse, Gus-tig, Par-mkhan, and Śu-lig, we cannot but remember the troubles which during the same period, through the conflicts of the Turks, Chinese, Arabs, and Tibetans (Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 121-5, 148-9), were befalling exactly those countries. For two of them at least, Kashgar and Farghana (for this is what is denoted by *Par-mkhan* ; see *infra*, p. 61, n. 3), the year A.D. 739 may have witnessed an actual climax of trouble (see Chavannes, *loc. cit.*).

The approximate period of the historical events related in the *Prophecy* is, therefore, rather well ascertained. What then of the actually specified dates ? These are as follows :—

(a) Departure from Khotan in the year following the decision to depart ; arrival in Tibet.

(b) Sojourn of three (twelve, p. 314) years in Tibet, ending with the death of Koñ-co (A.D. 740-1).

(c) A period of 5-6 (2 +, + 5 months, + 2) years in Gandhāra.

(d) A short time in India, ending 102 years after the meeting of the Paṇḍits of Khotan in the "Hare" Year during the lifetime of the "Li king Btsu(a)n-legs" (p. 69).

These particulars yield a period commencing in c. A.D. 644-5 and ending c. 746-7 (if we regard the Gandhāra events as historical). As concerns the names of the years, it appears that on the Tibetan system, with which alone we are concerned, the years A.D. 644 and A.D. 740-1 were "Hare" years. The king whose name is given in the Tibetan form Btsu(a)n-legs we have no means of identifying. But the reigning sovereign at the time of Hiuan-Tsang's visit (A.D. 644) was "extremely courageous and warlike" : he "greatly venerates the law of Buddha" (Beal, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 309) ; "he is a polished

and learned man, brave and versed in the arts of war. He is well affected towards virtuous persons" (*Life of Hiuan-Tsang*, p. 203). This testimonial we do not easily adjust to the young king who in the other *Prophecy* commands the monks either to join the laity or to go where they please. What is worse, however, is the fact that the narrative itself accounts for only about nine years out of the 102.

In this perplexity we may conceive that the prediction concerning the 102 years represents a posterior calculation, unoriginal in the *Prophecy*. This is in itself quite likely, since the Twelve-year Cycle, with its "Hare", etc., years, will not have been used in native Khotan, which, no doubt, had an Indian or Iranian calendar. Moreover, the *Prophecy*, which mentions only one Tibetan king, provides no obvious occasion for a period of over a century. Upon consideration, however, we shall feel that the period of three years in Tibet is too short for the building of the seven monasteries, for a comfortable settlement in the country, and for the arrival of the monks from 'An-se, Gus-tig, Par-mkhan, and Šu-lig; to say nothing of China and Kāśmīr. It seems clear that, while the *Prophecy* contemplates only the last phase, the influx of Khotan monks into Tibet had begun long before, and that the compilers in specifying the period of 102 years were either citing a calculation known to have been made at that date or inventing one.

The *Prophecy of the Li Country* is not entirely dependent upon that of Samghavardhana. From other sources it was able, as was quite natural in Tun-huang, to furnish further particulars, such as those mentioned *supra*, p. 42, and, likewise, the contemporaneity of Samghavardhana with king Vijaya-Kīrti, the period of beneficent Tibetan influence in Khotan (a period judged, it seems, not without bias, when we consider the frequent alternation of Tibetan and Chinese power in the country and the burning of temples to which reference will be made *infra*, pp. 203 etc.), and some additional (*Pha-šan*) or variant (*Rkoñ-ñan*) names of localities and shrines. Now in this *Prophecy* there is mention of *two* Tibetan kings

who were Bodhi-sattva patrons of Buddhism and who had for consorts Chinese princesses. This was historical fact: the famous king Sron-btsan Sgam-po (A.D. c. 600-650) had for wife Mun-śeñ Koñ-co, who arrived in Tibet in A.D. 639 and died in A.D. 680, and whose tomb was completed in A.D. 684-5. Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms, whose wife Kim-śeñ Koñ-co died, as we have seen, in A.D. 740-1, was, according to the reckoning adopted (p. 79, n. 6) in the *Prophecy*, the seventh. Although Sron-btsan Sgam-po certainly never held suzerainty over Khotan, yet in connection with his advance northwards against the Tu-yu[k]-hun, of the Koko-nor region, who held the more eastern parts of Chinese Turkestan, and perhaps also through his patronage of Buddhism and of literature, he must have been interested in that country. At any rate there seems to be no reason for questioning the statement of the Tibetan chronicle (*Rgyal-rabs*, fol. 28a, *infra*, pp. 294-5) that he was in communication with Khotan divines. It may well therefore be conceived that an influx of Khotan monks did begin during his time and that the seven monasteries mentioned in both the *Prophecies* included foundations by him and by other predecessors of Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms.

There is one detail in the *Prophecy of the Li Country* which is somewhat surprising: the plague which visited Tibet is attributed to "wandering monks from the southern kingdom Nepal". This is the only reference to Nepal, which country, however, had been in close intercourse with Tibet, and generally under its domination, from the time of Sron-btsan Sgam-po: monks from Nepal and India had long been familiar figures in Lha-sa. Is the attribution of the plague to a contact with Nepal a record of actual fact? or does it betray some involution or confusion in the sources of the narrative?

What we have concluded in regard to the *Prophecy of the Li Country* may be summed up as follows:—The *Prophecy*, while based in general upon the *Prophecy of Samghavardhana*, has some additional or variant particulars of its own, both

in regard to Khotan and in regard to occurrences in Tibet and China. Particulars of the latter group may have been derived either from local knowledge in Tun-huang or from written sources, which will have been in the Tibetan language. The particulars concerning Khotan may have been derived from variants of the *Samghavardhana Prophecy* or from other writings concerning or from Khotan, such as will have been numerous in the Tun-huang district, the communications being frequent. In what languages such writings may have been, Sanskrit or Prakrit, Saka-Khotanī, Turkī, Tibetan, can hardly be conjectured : so complex are the linguistic-literary relations known to have been in Chinese Turkestan during the period. But that the *Prophecy* as we have it was not originally composed in Tibetan there is no reason for believing. The date of composition cannot, we have seen, be later than the ninth or tenth century A.D. ; nor can it be much earlier than A.D. 800, since the events narrated terminate about A.D. 750.

Reference should here be made to the Chinese work (Collection Pelliot, No. 2139) recovered by Professor Pelliot from the library of Tun-huang and described by him in the *Journal Asiatique*, xi, iv (1914), pp. 144-5. With Professor Pelliot's co-operation it has since been published in facsimile at Kyoto (1926 : see *T'oung pao*, n.s. xxv (1928), p. 463) ; through the kind assistance of Professor Chungshee H. Liu, of the University of Tsingtao, I have been able to become acquainted with its contents. It is a faithful rendering (by a certain Fa-ch'eng of Kan-chou in Kan-su, as Professor Pelliot has noted) of the *Prophecy of the Li Country* ; and, being practically contemporary with the Tibetan, it is highly valuable for the control of the nomenclature. The details have been recorded in the notes to the translation (pp. 77-87) below.

The *Prophecy of Samghavardhana* in its original shape will certainly have been in some form of Buddhist Sanskrit or Prakrit, such as was familiar in Chinese Turkestan, most

probably in the Sanskrit of the *Candragarbha* and other *sūtras*. In the expanded recension which we have, and which was used by the author of the other *Prophecy*, it may have been still Sanskrit: in the style there seems to be nothing inconsistent therewith. It is not likely to have been Turkī, as suggested by Rockhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 231); but it may have been Saka-Khotanī, and Tibetan is not excluded. The remark in the Tibetan catalogue of the *Bstan-hgyur* that "these two seem to be translations from Khotan" is obviously a conjecture of no weight. The dating of this *Prophecy* depends upon the same considerations as in the case of the other, to which it must have been somewhat anterior.

One inquiry, likewise connected with the date, remains: How could the *Prophecy of Samghavardhana* in the form which we have be current in Khotan, where, as we know from the *Annals of the Li Country* (*infra*, pp. 89 sqq., esp. 134-6), a ruin of Buddhism, such as it narrates, had not taken place? That a general prophecy, such as we conceive the original work to have been, should have been in common acceptance, is quite intelligible; but a historical narrative of actual events, suggesting the extinction of a religion which continued to flourish, could hardly maintain itself in the country. We must conclude that the final withdrawal of the monks whose fortunes in Tibet and Gandhāra are depicted in the narrative was a relatively temporary crisis, and that after an interval the former conditions were restored. It must have been during such an interval that the expanded prophecy became current. Otherwise we should have to believe that the *Prophecy* took its expanded form not in Khotan, but somewhere in the Buddhist world outside: which is not indeed impossible, if we suppose the narrative to have been compiled in Tibet by some of the *émigré* monks: upon information derived from them it in any case depends. In their eyes the effect of their withdrawal might well seem more disastrous than it turned out to be.

A further text from Tun-huang, *The Religious Annals of the Li Country*, will be found *infra*, pp. 303-323. It contains also the matter of the two *Prophecies*, and its variants are recorded in the notes thereto.

TRANSLATION

THE PROPHECY OF THE ARHAT SAMGHAVARDHANA

(*Dgra-bcom-pa-Dge-hdun-hphel-gyis-luñ-bstan-pa*)

Homage to Mañjuśrī as a Youth.

412b

Thus I have heard it stated by the teachers ¹ :—

In a monastery of this country, by name Phru-ña,² was 413a
an Arhat Samghavardhana, possessed of the Triple Science,³
having acquired the Intuitions,⁴ one who in meditations
upon the Eight Deliverances⁵ passed from stage to stage.
Once, when with one disciple he was passing the three
summer months on a mountain called H̄jigs-tshogs,⁶ the
disciple, while the Bande was teaching the Dharma
and Vinaya,⁷ heard that, with the passing of two thousand
years⁸ from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, Buddha's doctrine
would decline in the Indian country Kauśāmbī; and he
reflected, "Seeing that in the country Kauśāmbī the religion
of India is after that space of time to decline, how long will
the religion of Li and the other countries endure? When
and from what causes will it perish?" A doubt arose in
his thought. Thereupon, while the thought was only half
formed,⁹ the Arhat rose from his *samādhi*,¹⁰ and the disciple,

¹ *slob-dpon* = *ācārya*.

² Concerning this monastery, founded by king Vijaya-Kīrti, see *infra*, pp. 118-120 and Index.

³ *gsum-rig-pa*: The three sciences may be grammar (*śabda*), logic (*hetu*), and metaphysics (*adhyātma*).

⁴ *mñon-par-śes-pa* = *abhijñā*: see *supra*, p. 14, n. 3.

⁵ *rnam-par-thar-pa-rgyad* = *aṣṭa-vimokṣa*, particularized in *Mahāvīrutpattī*, 70 and *Abhidharma-kośa*, trans. Poussin (Index).

⁶ This is the *Sa-ka-gyi-ri* of the other account (*infra*, p. 77), and the site of the *Saṅkā-prahāṇa* monastery, concerning which see p. 15, n. 7.

⁷ The reference is perhaps to Buddha's forecast made to Ānanda in the Pāli *Vinaya* (*Culla-vagga*, x, 1) and, no doubt, in the related texts. The other *Prophecy* here cites the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, which perhaps Samghavardhana did not know; see *supra*, p. 46.

⁸ On the number see *supra*, pp. 44-5.

⁹ *phyed-hphrad*.

¹⁰ *yan-dag-hjog*.

having with his five members¹ done homage to the Pandit's feet, thus pleaded his doubt:—"Teacher, since there is a prophecy that after two thousand years the doctrine of the Teacher, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, is to perish, how long will the religion of this country, Li, and the other countries endure? When and from what causes will it perish?" Thereupon the Pandit² pronounced:—"Son, you have propounded your doubt on behalf of the many people belonging to Li and the other countries, and in order that the doctrine of the Sugata may endure. Listen well and understand. I will prophesy severally how long the doctrine of Li and the other countries will last, when and from what cause it will perish.

4136 "When from the *nirvāṇa* of the Holy One one thousand five hundred years shall have passed, the doctrine of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, the good religion, will be at strife owing to the rise of unbelievers in the several countries. At that time there will arise in this country Li also an unbelieving king. The country people also upon mutual understanding with the king will rob. In consequence thereof the country will also daily deteriorate. The villages and the monasteries and so forth will mostly become deserted. The people also will day by day more and more diminish their faith in the Three Gems. Therefore, holding the Three Gems, the Preachers and the Yogins one and all in no regard, the heretical kings, councillors, landholders, and householders, taking a side at variance with religion, will leave the road of the Ten Good Works³ to be ruined and will accumulate enjoyments at variance with religion, false⁴ and heedless. After that the monks and nuns will become quarrelsome⁵ for the sake of the means of subsistence: neglecting the ascetic practices arising from Dharma and

¹ Head, arms, knees, voice, eyes. Usually eight, viz. head, arms, stomach, knees, feet, are mentioned.

² *mkhan-po* = *paṇḍita*. ³ *dge-ba-bcuḥi-lam* = *daśa-kūśala-pāṭha*.

⁴ *ma-rtags-pa* (for *mi-rtag-pa*?).

⁵ *g-yan(g-yon)-snyo-ba* = *co-ḥdri-sdan-bar-byed-pa*.

Vinaya, the four modes¹ of action, self-restraint, modesty of mind, decency and so forth, they will make their living by agriculture, gardening, buying and selling, lending and borrowing, and mendicancy. With difficulty² they will undertake the crafts to be learned by householders, the business of householders, fighting and strife, and begging at doors. They will even go as messengers. They will ask for gradations of work and . . .³

"At that time, not staying in the monasteries and hermitages, they will abandon the teaching of the Sugata to decay. More and more they will take pleasure in frequenting towns, villages, markets, thoroughfares, and junctions.⁴ They will beg even of (be confused with, *hchol fortshol*?) servants and serving women and porters.⁵ For that reason the householders, landowners, councillors, and so forth will show no respect to them, and, falling away from the faith, will plunder the wealth 414a of the Three Gems and the Samgha. Those householders also, by living upon those possessions, will have their merit diminished. In consequence thereof various evils will arise in Li and the other countries. Year by year they will retrograde; there will be strife, disease, unseasonable rain and wind, and numerous enemies. There will be unseasonable frost, vermin, birds, and mice. Then, the living creatures deteriorating,⁶ the seasons will go wrong. Accordingly, even in countries where religious ways are followed these evils will arise.

"Then in Li and the other countries the kings, councillors, and others of good family being none of them sincere⁷ in regard to the Three Gems, of the common people what need to speak? Owing to such causes there will be disorder⁸ in all things in all the sanctuaries of the Three Gems in Li and the other countries. Then in Li and the other countries

¹ *spyod-bzi-ba*.

² *rnams-po-che* 'arduous'?

³ *las-kyi-go-hphan* and *rtsa-hjin* (?).

⁴ Of valleys? *sum-mdo*: so p. 188, n. 1. ⁵ *rkañ-hgro*.

⁶ Or "being dissident" (*mi-mihun-par-hgyur*).

⁷ *snin-thag-pa-nas-dan-ba-hgab-las*.

⁸ *smeg* (= *rmeg*)-med-par.

the establishments of monks also, founded by believing kings and so forth of older times, will be violently appropriated¹ by unbelieving councillors and so forth and made into residences for themselves. The monks will also live a wandering life and will lack religious dress and establishments. Those councillors and so forth will violently appropriate the lands, water, gardens, and other possessions of the monks. The temple servants² and religious attendants will be stiff-necked,³ not heeding the voice of the monks.

“Then the monks also, knowing this, will be dejected, and the monks of Li will say one to another: ‘We will assemble in the monastery Tshar-ma (*sic*),⁴ where our religion
414b was first established; and, having performed the Upoṣadha⁵ on the evening of the fifteenth day of the last spring month, we will say one to another, “It is because formerly through heedlessness we were insolent⁶ to the wise who conformed to religion that we are thus even by householders made of no account. Now that we have not even the means of living, where shall we henceforth go? By what means are we to live?”’ Then all will make a great lamentation. Then the Devas who guard the religion of the Sugata, remembering what was done by the Holy One, will all assemble in that monastery and, looking at one another, will say: ‘The doctrine of the Sugata does not long endure. This country also will become desolate’; and, so sorrowing, will shed tears. Then the monks will think: ‘Since in this country we have not the means of living, we must abandon it and go to another’; to which all agreeing, they will consult where to go, ‘The various neighbouring countries are full of unbelievers; if we go to India, the way is impassable⁷; in the country of Tibet the Three Gems, it is said, are held in honour; let us go there and start to-day.’

“Having thus fixed the time, on that evening they will leave

¹ *btsan-phrogs-su-phrogs-nas*.

² *lha-lbañs*, on which see Index.

³ *gñah-reñs*.

⁴ On this monastery see pp. 104-7.

⁵ *gso-sbyoñ*.

⁶ *dbañ-zos*.

⁷ *lam-m(ma-)thar-pas?*

the Tshar-ma (*sic*) monastery. At dawn, having been invited by a believing woman to a small repast,¹ and the *gandā*² having been struck, the Samgha generally will circumambulate the monastery and perform worship; whereupon, a throne of an image of Buddha splitting, from its interstices a box with a filling³ will appear. Then, upon their opening the box, from its interior will appear seven food-platters made of gold⁴; which all the monks will take, and, converting them into grain,⁵ they will provide all the Samghas with the means of spending the three summer months in the monastery Tshar-ma as usual; with the remainder they will, on leaving the country, procure provisions for the journey and baggage 415a loads. When the three summer months shall have passed, saying, 'We must see this consecrated land before we go,' they will set out: when they have arrived before the monastery Ye-sēs-ri,⁶ the abode of the Ārya Kṣitigarbha,⁷ there beneath a *stūpa* upon a rock an old base will give way, and from within will appear a large golden vase, filled with pearls. Taking that also and converting it into grain,⁸ they will be provided with the means of living in that part (*sc.* in *Ĥdro-tin*, p. 314) during the three winter months.

"The time of journeying coming again with the spring, they will start, and cross the lower stream⁹ and, the highlanders of the country attending them on the way¹⁰ and providing the midday meal,¹¹ they will take their meal each day in the local monasteries. At that time the people of the lowland country, hearing that the monks are going away into exile, will invite the Samgha to a monastery called Co-na¹² and provide them with food during

¹ *gdam-chun-la*.

² The monastery "gong", a wooden instrument, on which see *supra*, p. 16, n. 9.

³ *tha-rams-can*: *tha-rams* = "full"?

⁴ On the history of these, originally sixteen, platters see *infra*, p. 106.

⁵ *hbrur-sgyur-nas*.

⁶ On this monastery see *supra*, p. 15.

⁷ See *Gośrīga-vyākaraṇa*, *supra*, p. 15.

⁸ *hbrur-bsgyur-nas*.

⁹ *sel-chu-hog-ma*: See p. 122, n. 3. ¹⁰ *sa-lam-yogs-su*. ¹¹ *gdugs-tshod*.

¹² The other texts (p. 81, n. 7) read *Hbom* and *Bon*. The monastery is otherwise unknown, unless it is the *Goḥu-na* of p. 133 *infra*.

seven days. Then all the Nāgas established in the country of Li, thinking that the doctrine of the Sugata is about to fall into disorder,¹ will be dejected; and, in order that the doctrine may be made to stand fast, will let fall a great rain. Through that rain will appear from the crumbling base of a *stūpa* in that monastery of Co-na a golden vase filled with gold dust. This also the Saṃgha will sell, and so will be furnished with the means of existence during the spring. Then the lowland people, having invited the Saṃgha to a monastery called 'Śāla-Grove',² will give them their midday meal during seven days. On the day when the seven days expire all the people, highlanders and lowlanders, will assemble in the vicinity of the monastery Sa-na-ba³ and present the Saṃgha with stores⁴ and baggage-loads. 415b Then the old men and women will receive instruction,⁵ and the young, looking on from a distance, will indulge in merriment⁶ and assist in various ways. Then from the town Dge-ba-can⁷ also some old men and women, bringing severally monastic robes and various appurtenances for a journey, will come to their several Pious Friends who are members of the Saṃgha and, saying, 'Āryas, forgive and accept,' will do reverence to them. Then that honouring, just as when the people of Kuśa-nagara,⁸ knowing that the Holy One was passing into *nirvāṇa*, were grieved and showed honour, will be in the country of Li the end of paying honour to the Three Gems.

"After that the monks will pass from that monastery in the direction of Tibet; and by the road side, before an old *stūpa*, they will find a bag full of gold coins,⁹ placed by the glorious Great Goddess for the sake of the Saṃgha; whereupon the Saṃgha, having shared it, will provide itself with provisions

¹ *smeg-med-par*.

² *Sa-laḥi-tshal* = Śāla-vana.

³ *Sa-na-ba* is apparently the vernacular name of the Śālavana monastery.

⁴ *rdzoṅs*.

⁵ "Give advice" (*bslab-pa-hdzin-par-byed*)?

⁶ *gad-mos-hdebs*.

⁷ *So. Khotan*.

⁸ *Ku-ṣaḥi-gron-khyer*.

⁹ *don-tse*.

for the way. Then in a monastery Ka-sar,¹ in a town of the Li country, they will find a patron belonging to the royal family ; and by that patron the Samgha will be honoured with a seven days' feast.² That feast of honour will be the end of giving feasts of honour in the Li country. Then the monks will depart, taking the road to Me-skar.³ Then the monks [of Ka-sar ?], male and female, down to the novices will offer each to his own teacher and Paṇḍit religious vestures and, begging for pardon, will turn back. Some of the male and female novice ⁴ monks, whose fathers and mothers and other kindred, not assenting to their renouncing the world, come to escort them, will speak to them in tears, and, their kinsmen turning back, will depart with the Samgha on the road to Me-skar, [looking] back with sorrow upon their blessed country and their kin. While they are so going, Vaiśravaṇa ⁵ and the glorious Great Goddess,⁶ being both filled with compassion, will assume the form of two nomad men ⁷ and invite the Samgha ; and after providing their midday meal ⁸ in Me-skar during three months will supply all they require of provision for recommending their journey. 416a

" Then the monks, taking the road to Mdo-lo, will proceed, traversing mountains and valleys. Having lost their way in the desolate wilds, they will call in tears upon the designations of the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters and upon all the Devas of the country of Li by name ; whereupon Vaiśravaṇa, taking compassion upon them and assuming the form of a white yak with a load and nose-ring,⁹ will come before them. Seeing which, the monks will be comforted by the thought, ' This yak is some man's pack yak. If we follow it, we shall doubtless fall in with people and so not die.' Guided by the yak, they will find a bye-path¹⁰ ; and the yak itself, having conducted them to Tshal-byi,¹¹

¹ Otherwise unknown. ² *mchod-ston*.

³ On Me-skar and Mdo-lo see pp. 81, 100, n. 6, and Index. ⁴ *gsar-bu*.

⁵ *Rnam-thos-kyi-bu*.

⁶ *Śrī-Mahādevī*.

⁷ *lbrog-mi*, " Dok-pas ".

⁸ *gdugs-tshod*.

⁹ *sna-lchu*.

¹⁰ *gseb-lam*.

¹¹ On Tshal-byi see *infra*, p. 82, n. 6, and Index.

will disappear. Many of the old monks and nuns will die on the way.

"On seeing the monks the Tibetans of Tshal-byi will come to meet them; having meanwhile supplied provisions, they will send a messenger to say: 'Many monks of Li have arrived in Tibet here; what is to be done?' At that time a daughter of the Chinese king,¹ born of a Bodhi-sattva family, will have been taken into the palace of the king of Tibet as his chief queen. She will be a lady of very great faith, compassionate, of pleasant speech, and acquainted with the five-membered true teachings.² This lady, having reflected that, when many monks from other
4166 countries of the west³ are seen arrived in Tibet, the teaching of Buddha is not long to last, will be greatly grieved; and, having called into her presence two hundred women of her attendants, three hundred men,⁴ and . . . ,⁵ and craftsmen and important personages,⁶ will say with tears, 'Since some day⁷ the teaching of the Sugata will perish, do not you be too late through not quickly acquiring merit and preserving virtue.' Then that queen will say to the king, 'Pray, let me⁸ furnish these Samghas with conveyances and appurtenances such as clothes and invite them here.' The king will consent; and in that way the monks will come into Tibet. At that time the king of Tibet and the councillors,

¹ This is not the celebrated Mun-can (Mun-šen, Wên-ch'êng) Koñ-co, the consort of king Sron-btsan Sgam-po, the "White Tārā" of Tibetan Buddhism, who died in A.D. 680, long after her husband, but Kim-can Koñ-co, the wife of king Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms, who is equally famous as patron of Buddhism. This Koñ-co ("princess") [adopted], daughter of the Chinese Emperor Chung-tsung, whose name is given by the Tibetans as Yag-hjam Li-khri-bzer-lañ-ma, came to Tibet in A.D. 710 and died in A.D. 740-1. Concerning her other experiences in Tibet reference may be made to Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 206, n. 1.

² The *pañca-sīla*, the "five rules of morality".

³ *ñi-hog-gzan-las*; cf. p. 21, n. 2.

⁴ *sgyes-pa*: Is this word = *sgyes*, noted *infra* (Index), and does it mean "bagman" = *sgyehu-ga*?

⁵ *ru-rum-pa*: "Tent-men"?

⁶ *gnan-chen-rnams*.

⁷ *de-hu-re*, "soon"?

⁸ *bdag-gis*: or is it "yourself"?

upon seeing the monks, will become full of faith and will build also seven great monasteries.

"Likewise also the monks of 'An-tse,¹ Gus-tig,² Parmkhan,³ and Šu-lig,⁴ after great sufferings, will go to the Bru-śa land.⁵ Also the monks of the Tho-kar⁶ country and of Kāśmīr,⁷ having been vexed by unbelieving people, will give up⁸ and go to the Bru-śa country. All those monks, on arriving in the Bru-śa country, will hear that in Tibet many monasteries have been built and that a Bodhi-sattva established as king is doing honour to the Three Gems and showing them great consideration⁹; overjoyed, they will all go into Tibet. Having arrived in Tibet, they will be happy, enjoying great honour during three years.

"When three years have passed, the Devas of Māra's party¹⁰ and the Asuras¹¹ and Nāgas and Yakṣas and Gandharvas will cause great diseases in Tibet, pustules¹² 417a

¹ 'An-tse: Clearly not An-hsi, or Kva-cu, as proposed by Rockhill (op. cit., p. 240, n. 3); that is too remote. Nothing favours Dr. Laufer's identification (*T'oung pao*, II, ix (1908), p. 4, n. 1) with Karashahr. The other text, Tibetan and Chinese, has (*infra*, pp. 77-8, 82) 'An-se = Bukhāra, which in this connection is clearly right.

² Gus-tig: Dr. Laufer (loc. cit.) proposes to understand K'u-tse or Kuca, referring to Huth, *Sinologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Türk-völker*, p. 245. But, no doubt, the Hon-tō (*tig*) of Chavannes, *T'oung pao*, 1905, p. 563, N.E. of Samarkand, is meant.

³ In Tibetan this would mean "printer". But probably it = *Pa-han-na* (Chinese) = *Farghāna*, the *Pārikānoi* of the Greeks. From Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 148-9, n. 3, 203-5, it appears that in the years 715-? *Farghāna*, like the adjacent countries, suffered greatly from the attacks of the Arabs. See Index.

⁴ = Kashgar.

⁵ Bru-za, on which see pp. 262-3, is here, no doubt, the Baltistan-Gilgit area, a natural meeting-place for refugees from the countries named: cf. p. 82, n. 12.

⁶ At the date in question the Tho-kar country would be Tokharistan, which had likewise been suffering from Arab attacks and had been conquered (see Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 158-9, 204).

⁷ *Kha-che*.

⁸ *mchags* (for *ma-chags*?) - *nas*: from *chog* or *chags*? Probably the sense is that of Sk. *virāga*, "resignation", "despair".

⁹ *ri-mo-cher-byed-pa*.

¹⁰ *Bdud-kyi-res*.

¹¹ *lha-ma-yin*.

¹² *hbras* = Sk. *phala*.

and eyesores¹ and malignant pox,² from which diseases the Uncle-councillors³ and several soldiers will die. At that time the queen, by reason of the growth of a pustule⁴ on her bosom, will die and go to heaven. Then the Uncle-councillors of Tibet, being angered, will say, 'This country of ours was formerly prosperous⁵; but, since all these unlucky, ill-omened wanderers have arrived, in this country also such harms of various kinds have now occurred. Therefore for the future⁶ these must not be allowed in this country, but must cross the frontier and be expelled.' So deliberating, they will instantly give instructions that not a single monk shall be allowed to stay in the country. The queen, at the time when she is attacked by the disease, perceiving that she will not live, will in her testament⁷ pray the king, in case she dies, to give to the Saṃgha all her possessions; and the king will consent. So they will arrange⁸ that the Saṃgha, being presented with the queen's possessions, shall go into a country of India called Gandhāra.⁹ At the same time the Tibetan monks also, being grieved,¹⁰ will depart in agreement with the western¹¹ monks. In consequence of the people¹² and of the Kali age the monks of the country of China also, being much plagued with troubles, will go into Gandhāra.

"Having thus departed, all those monks will meet on the road to Gandhāra. The Tibetan troops will follow them, and, having taken away their attendants and possessions and animals on the road, will even kill the monks. Thus

¹ *phol-mig*: The lexicon of Tshe-rin-dbañ-rgyal gives *cakra* (i.e., *maṇḍala*, "circular sore" or "ringworm") as the equivalent of this.

² For *hbrum-pa* and *hbrum-bu* the lexicon of Tshe-rin-dbañ-rgyal gives *kīṭibha* "leprosy" and *arśab* "piles".

³ *zan-blon*: see p. 80, n. 4; 83, n. 5, and Index.

⁴ *hbras-gsug-pa*: *Gsug* seems to be unknown in this sense. Can it be the *śug-pa* = *padmaka* of Tshe-rin-dbañ-rgyal's lexicon?

⁵ *gya-nom-pa*. ⁶ *rdzas-lhag-ma*. ⁷ *kha-chems*. ⁸ *rdzas-byas*.

⁹ *Gan-dha-ra*. ¹⁰ *yi-chad*. ¹¹ *ñi-hog-gyi*.

¹² *skye-bo*: Is something omitted here? or should we render "on account of (*cha*, not *tshe*) a time of disagreement with the people"?

harried by the Tibetan troops, they will arrive at the residence of the Nāga king Elāpatra.¹ The Nāga king Elāpatra, 4176 assuming the form of an old man, will come before the Saṃgha and salute them. 'Worthy people,' he will ask, 'where are you going?' The monks will reply: 'As our country is filled only with faithless persons and we are destitute of the means of livelihood, etc., we are here with the idea of obtaining some modicum of livelihood in Gandhāra.' Then the Nāga king, recognizing the sign of the decline of the Sugata's doctrine, will weep, dropping tears of blood, and will inquire of the Saṃghas, 'As you are going into that country, how much provision have you for the journey?' After a careful calculation all the Saṃghas will say that they have provisions for fifteen days. The Nāga king will say, 'From here to Gandhāra, passing to right or left of this lake,² is a journey of forty-five days; can you sustain yourselves with provisions for fifteen nights? Moreover, all³ the country is high, thick with forest, infested with carnivora, and there are scorpions, snakes, robbers also and thieves. Behind also on this side you are pursued by troops, and even in this lake are my various attendants, fierce and unbelieving, who cannot be kept back by me. I am not glad of your making this journey.' Then all those many monks and nuns will think, 'It seems that we have fallen upon our time to die'; at which thought they will weep and be sorrowful. Then the Nāga king Elāpatra will kneel before the Saṃghas and say, 'Do not weep, Saṃghas: since for the sake of the Saṃghas an Earth-Lord⁴ should sacrifice even his life, I will make my own body a bridge

¹ *'E-lahi-hdab*: On Elāpatra as Nāga of Gandhāra see Lévi, op. cit., v, p. 303, and *Divyāvadāna*, p. 61: cf. Laufer, *Klu-hbum*, p. 110.

² It is not clear what lake is meant. Is it the Span-skoṇ (Pangong) lake? It will be noted that the incident takes place not in Gandhāra, but on the way thither.

³ Read *kun* for *kan*. Or is *yul-kan* (side of lake) = shore?

⁴ *Sa-bdag*, a chthonian divinity or Nāga. Or should we read simply *bdag* "I"?

upon this lake. In requital for not having previously at the first well guarded the religion of the Sugata I desire to be mulcted¹ by loss of life.'

418a "Then that Nāga king, having converted his body into the form of a great snake, will twine his head round a peak on the Tibetan side and his tail round a peak on the Gandhāra side, making in the breadth of his body a bridge of the width of five carts. Seeing the form of that great snake, the monks will be terrified and will flee in all directions. Then the Nāga king, taking a human voice, will say, 'Fear not, Saṃghas. I have made this body into a bridge for your sakes. Do not be afraid. Place in the rear those who are required to repel the enemy, and convey first the venerable and fallen.'² Next I beg the younger orders³ of the Saṃghas to come. The old I request to come after.' Then on the Nāga king's back, being abraded by the hooves of the animals and the feet of the men, will appear a great sore, whence pus and blood will drip into the lake. Many men and cattle, falling into the lake, will die. At last, after the elders of the Saṃgha have passed, the Nāga king himself will die. When the lake dries up, in the dried lake the bones of the dead Nāga king will remain like a mountain.⁴ In future times the Buddha Maitreya, accompanied by his five hundred attendants, will come to the bones of the Nāga king Elāpatra ; and upon the relation of the *jātaka* of the Nāga king Elāpatra all the five hundred monks attendant upon Maitreya will attain the fruit of Arhatship.⁵

"Then those monks, having reached the country of Gandhāra, will settle there during two years. In the third

¹ *god-pa-ṣig-gcod-pa*.

² The rendering is here doubtful, *rjes-dgra-choms-su-dogs-pa-ni-hphans-dan-phyag-rjed-dan-tun* (*lun* ?)-*rnam-shon-la-dgyer-du-gsol*. Could it mean "leave behind those who are near to Arhatship, and convey first the documents and scriptures" ?

³ *gdon-rims*.

⁴ Does this refer to some glacier moraine ?

⁵ On such effect of a *Jātaka* relation cf. p. 242, n. 1.

year the king of the country, a man of faith, will die. After 418b
 his death his sons, one a believer and another an unbeliever,
 will contend ¹ for the sovereignty, and, a battle taking
 place, there will be killing on both sides. Then, there being
 among the monks a thousand neophytes,² heroes³ and
 fighters of dauntless courage, these will give battle to the
 unbelieving prince, and, being victorious, will offer the
 sovereignty to the believing prince. The latter, after a rule
 of five months, will be killed by those upland⁴ monks; and
 a monk, having been made king, will rule during two years.
 Then the councillors of the Gandhāra country and all the
 people, having assembled and taking secret counsel, 'Why have
 Western (*ñi-hog*) people fled into our country? It is through
 this fault that our king has been killed,' will immediately
 bring an army and cut the king to pieces. Then, after the
 slaughter of all the monks resident in Gandhāra who can
 be found,⁵ there will survive only a few who will have escaped
 by flight into the Middle Country.⁶

¹ *bstod* : = *bsdod* "contend".

² *dge-slob* : In place of "a thousand" (*ston*) should we read, *stod-po*
 "of the upper country", as *infra*?

³ *brtul-phod*.

⁴ *stod-po*.

⁵ *mtho-dgu*.

⁶ i.e. *Madhya-dēśa* or Hindustan.

The episode which here follows, forming the conclusion of the narrative, has been, as we have seen (pp. 45-6), with marked anachronism appended to the original narrative: it appears also in the next document. Consequently we are left in doubt as to the fate of the monks after they left Gandhāra. It is possible that they were in fact compelled to continue their migration and settled in India. But that the events related in connection with the three kings and the Kauśāmbī ruler were repeated in their time is not credible. It will be noted that the second document, in mentioning the Yavanas (p. 86), plainly contemplates the original triad of Yavana, Pahlava, and Saka kings; whereas here we have reference to the kingdom of Srig-ni, ruled by the Stag-gzig (the Tājiks), that of the Drug-gus, ruled by Drug-gus, and that of Tibet. It seems obvious that the second triad is a mere substitute, suggested by the circumstances of the times, but without any special historical validity. No doubt, Tibet was in the eighth and ninth centuries one of the great powers of Central Asia, being in alliance, more or less, with the Musalmans. *Infra*, p. 315,

“ After that, excepting in the Middle Country, there will be in this Jambū-dvīpa three unbelievers. The kingdom of Srīg-ni and so forth will be ruled by the Stag-gzig ; the sovereignty of the various Drug-gu races will be held by the Drug-gus ; over many others the sovereignty will be held by the king of Tibet. These three kings, furthermore, will agree together. Having a brave and dauntless army of 300,000 men, these three kings will conquer all the countries cleaving to the right doctrine, except the Middle Country, and, many people being slaughtered,¹ the towns and so forth will be deserted. Then the three kings will meet and take counsel to
 419a invade the Middle Country. At that time there will arise in Kauśāmbī of the Middle Country a king named Duṣprasaha.² At the time of his birth there will fall a rain of blood. His two arms from his elbows down will be red, as if smeared with blood. He will have five hundred councillors of excellent parts, and in war he will have 200,000 warriors. Then the king of the Stag-gzig and the other two will enter Kauśāmbī of the Middle Country and seek out King Duṣprasaha. Hearing of this, King Duṣprasaha will lie in wait with his army before those kings ; and during three months³ without interruption a great battle will be fought. The three unbelieving kings along with their armies will be annihilated.

“ Having returned to his kingdom with his army, King Duṣprasaha will reflect remorsefully, ‘ Since I have slain many men, in what sort of a state shall I be reborn ? When the triad is China, Tibet, and the Hor. *Srīg-ni* seems to denote *Shighnan*, and the *Drug-gu* are here very possibly the Turks.

Concerning the names occurring in the story of Kauśāmbī see the notes. It will be observed that in the earlier form of the story (*Āśoka-avadāna*, chapter IX) Gandhāra is not mentioned. In the *Candragarbha* (and p. 314, *infra*) there is a mere reference to it. The events stated to have occurred in that country are therefore an original feature in the present narrative.

¹ *kha-btags*.

² *Bzod-dkañ* : The Tibetan *Candragarbha-sūtra* (cf. p. 315, *infra*) has, in transliteration, *Duṣprasaha* (*‘hasta* in Bu-ston, trans. Obermiller, p. 173) ; *Nordar. Lehrs.* (p. 334) reads *Duṣprasava*, as alternative to Jain *‘ha* ; other versions have *Durdharṣa* or even (*Āśoka-avadāna*) *Durdarśa*.

³ The *Candragarbha* speaks of 12 years ; so p. 315, *infra*.

shall I be released from the three calamities ? ' ¹ Then to that king his councillors will appeal, saying : ' Fear not. In the Pāṭaliputra ² country is a monk named Śīrśaka, ³ learned in the Three Piṭakas ; invite him. He, your Majesty, will receive confession of your evil deed.' The king, having invited that monk, will relate to him the story of all the evil that he has done. The monk will say : ' Your Majesty, as you are exceedingly ⁴ remorseful under the idea that you have done something very wrong, do you invite here all the monks of Jambū[*-dvīpa*] and, offering them perpetually the five requirements, seek salvation in them and in their presence make daily confession of your sin. Your act of slaying ⁵ many men will be atoned for.' Then the king will consent 419b to invite the monks of the several countries. The monks, having heard that in a country called Kauśāmbī there is a king, named Duṣprasaha, who offers to the Saṃgha the five requirements, will be pleased and will go to the country Kauśāmbī. At that time there will be 100,000 monks gathered in Kauśāmbī.

" Then on the evening of the fifteenth day the monks assembled for the Upoṣadha will call upon the monk Śīrśaka, saying : ' Do you read out the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*.' ⁶ The monk Śīrśaka will reply : ' What have you to do with the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* ? What avails a mirror to people whose noses and ears have been cut off ?' Then from among those monks an Arhat, named Surata, ⁷ will rise and in a lion-like voice will say to the monk Śīrśaka : ' Why do you speak so ? I have not fallen short in a single doctrine in accordance with the commands of the Sugata.' Then the monk Śīrśaka will be exceedingly ashamed. Then a pupil of the monk

¹ *nan-son-gsum*, the three *apāyas*, " states of misery " (animal, etc.).

² *Dmar-pu(bu)-can*.

³ *Maitreya-s.* (p. 336) Śīrśaka. Variants are Śīsyaka, son of Agnidatta (*Candragarbha*), Bahusīśya Bahuśrutīya Tripiṭaka (*Aśoka-avadāna*).

⁴ *che-ṭhañ-du*.

⁵ *kha-btag-pa*.

⁶ *So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo*.

⁷ Variants are Surata, son of Sudhana (*Candragarbha*), Sūrata (*Nordar. Lehrs.*, p. 342), and Sudhara (*Aśoka-avadāna*) ; *infra* (p. 316) Ra-su-rag.

Śīrśaka, named Agnāvī,¹ will say to that Arhat, 'Why have you spoken so to my Ācārya in the presence of many people?', and in a rage, having with both hands taken a door-bolt,² will strike the Arhat dead. Then a pupil of the Arhat, a monk named Karata,³ having seen his Ācārya killed, will become much enraged, and, taking a club, will kill the monk Śīrśaka. Then the monks, being all enraged, will retaliate mutually and kill each other. Then all the Thirty-three Devas will come there and, having seen the corpses of the
420a monks, will bemoan and honour them. The monks' monastic robes,⁴ their hair and nails also, they will convey to the abode of the Devas.

"Then in that country there will burst forth tempests, black, yellow and mixed, and from time to time a rain of fire will fall; the earth will shake; there will be a rumbling and rattling.⁵ When morning dawns, the king, seeing all the monks so slain,⁶ and in his grief feeling as if his eyes sometimes saw and sometimes did not see, will run into the monastery and make lamentation: calling by name upon the Arhat and the monk Tripiṭaka,⁷ he will take their corpses into his lap and say: 'Alas, Tripiṭaka, you did indeed hold the treasure of the Sugata's good religion. Alas, Arhat, you did indeed hold the root doctrines⁸ of the Sugata. Now that you both are dead this world is become desolate.'

"On the evening when the good religion shall perish the Three and Thirty Devas will flee, defeated by the Asuras. On that same evening one of the Ever-Joyous⁹ Devas,

¹ 'A-gna-bi: The *Candragarbha*, Nordar. *Lehrg.* (p. 344), and *Āśoka-avadāna* have Aṅgada, whereof 'Añ-ghan (p. 316, *infra*) is a variant.

² *sgo-gtan*: = *viśkambhin*.

³ *ṅag-slon-Ka-ra-ta*: "The grammarian Karata"; Kerāda, Bu-ston, p. 176. Other texts name a Yakṣa Sukhamukha (*Candragarbha*) or Dadhimukha (Nordar. *Lehrg.*, p. 344, Bu-ston, p. 176) or Dhṛtimukha (*Āśoka-av.*), the Hḍra-dha-mu-ka of p. 316, *infra*.

⁴ *gos-kha-dog-sgyur-pa*.

⁵ *sa-g-yo-ba-dan-hur-sgra-dan-tug-chem-dag*.

⁶ *kha-btag*.

⁷ i.e. Śīrśaka, the Bahuśrutiya Tripiṭaka. On Tripiṭaka as a personal name see Schiefner, *Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 310, 331.

⁸ = *mūla-śikṣā*. ⁹ *rtaḡ-tu-myos-pa*: = *Sadāmoda*, *Nitya-pramudita*.

by name Lha-hdi-ni,¹ will transmigrate. Then in Jambū-dvīpa the sugar plant and grapes² and honey will entirely perish. The *Bdud-dbañ-bsgyur*³ will perish. Then, barley and wheat and all fruits perishing, the Jambū-dvīpa people's food will be *sred*⁴; they will eat wild millet and various fruits of grasses. Silk⁵ and quilts⁶ and *men-hdri*⁷ and cotton shawls and so forth having perished, they will take for garments rags⁸ and sack-cloth.⁹ The materials of the various precious ornaments of gold and so on having perished, 4206 they will wear for ornament things made of grass and so forth. Fine colours and sweet savours also will perish. The images of the Tathāgata also will be conveyed into the Nāga abodes.

According to "calculation made by the assembled Paṇḍits of Li in the Hare¹⁰ year during the lifetime of the Li king Rje Btsun-legs,¹¹ in the 102nd¹² year from that the Good Religion will perish."

¹ *Hlādinī*?

² *rgyun*: Read *rgun*.

³ *māra(mṛtyu)-vaśīkaraṇa*? *mṛtyum-jaya*? a plant or drug?

⁴ A kind of grain.

⁵ *dar*.

⁶ *bra-hog*.

⁷ *men-hdri*: See *infra*, p. 111 and n. 5 and Index.

⁸ *gso-ras* or *gos-ras*.

⁹ *re-phyar*.

¹⁰ This is the fourth year in the Twelve-Year Cycle: it might be about A.D. 646-7. See *supra*, pp. 47-8.

¹¹ An error (for Btsan-legs of p. 305, *infra* = Btsan-bzañ, Btsan-la-brtan, pp. 103-4), by a Tibetan thinking of a *rje-btsun* (*bhadanta*) Legs.

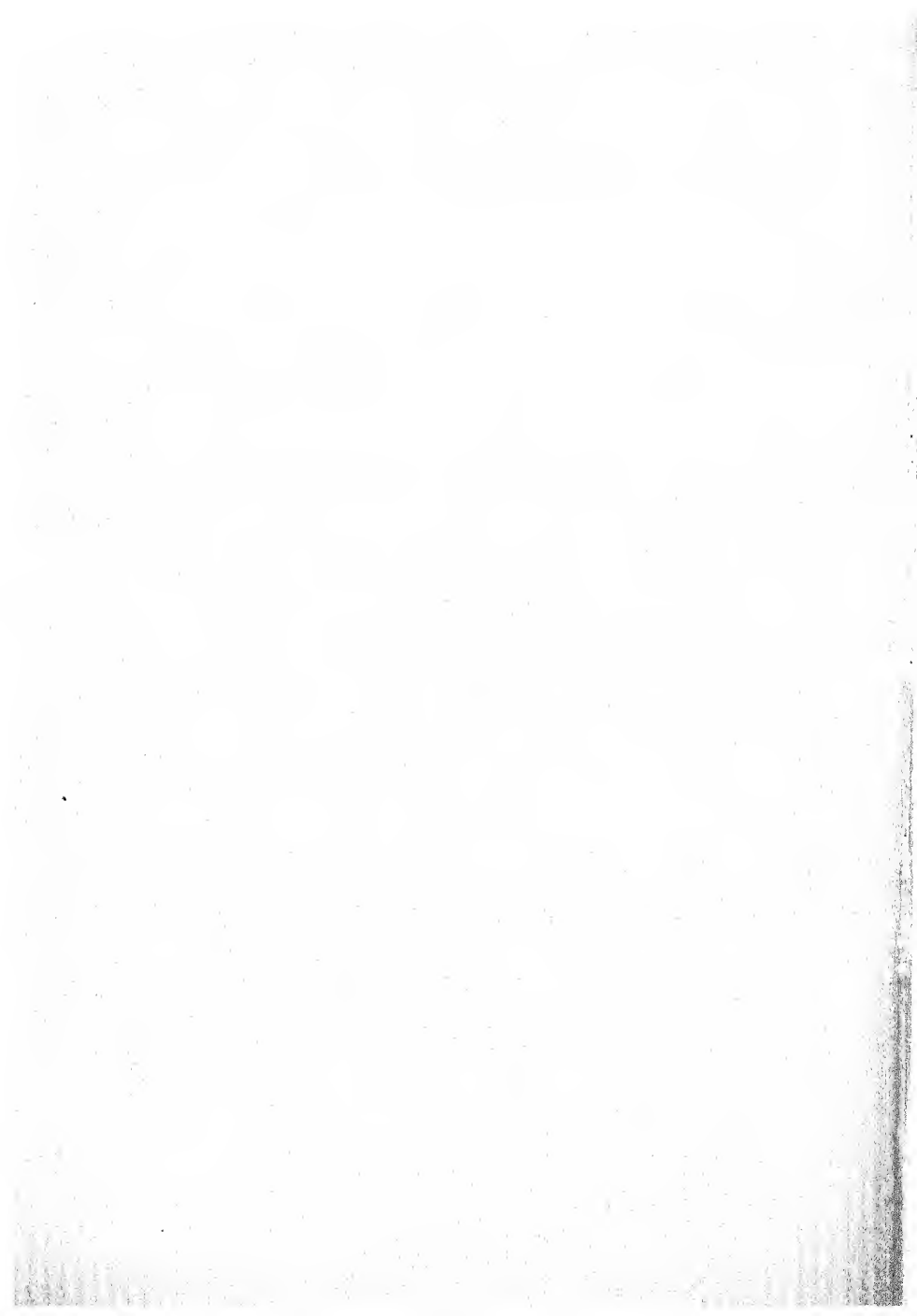
¹² i.e. probably the 102nd (Rockhill erroneously says (p. 241, n. 1) 120th) year from the first discussion of migration from Khotan.



The Prophecy of the Li Country

including

The Annals of the Li Country



THE PROPHECY OF THE LI COUNTRY (*Lih-yul-gyi-luñ-bstan-pa*), INCLUDING THE ANNALS OF THE LI COUNTRY (*Li-yul-gyi-lo-rgyus*).

In the *Bstan-hgyur*, where this work fills about 24 folios (420b, 3-444a, 4) of volume Ñe (94) in the Mdo (*Sūtra*) section, the title *The Prophecy of the Li Country* (*Lih-yul-gyi-luñ-bstan-pa*) is printed both at the beginning and in the colophon. Cordier, in his catalogue of the *Bstan-hgyur* (iii, p. 433, No. 45), observes that the two parts are in no way distinct works, the second title appearing only in the colophon, which he cites. Evidently, therefore, the second part was intended by the compilers of the collection to be taken as supplementary to the first.

Nevertheless, the obvious difference in purport between the *Prophecy* and the *Annals* was a justification of Rockhill's procedure (op. cit., p. 231) in separating the two parts, of which the conjunction is only mechanical. As a separate work, we now (see *supra*, p. 41) possess the *Prophecy* in two MS. copies, of the ninth or tenth century A.D., procured by Sir A. Stein from Tun-huang. Of the two MSS. particulars are given in the note.¹ Their early date, with the orthography

¹ MS. A (India Office MS., Tun-huang Collection (Stein), Ch. 08, No. 579; vol. xxxiv, foll. 48-52). Foll. 5, numbered, in left margin, *ka-ca*: c. 8 × 45.5 cm.: rather thick, yellow, Central Asian paper: ll. 6 per page (the last page 6 + $\frac{1}{2}$) of rather small, neat, *Dbu-med* script. The writing exhibits ancient peculiarities in the form *ṛ* of *ḥ* and in its employment (e.g. in *paḥ* for *pa*); also in writing *myi* and *mye* for *mi* and *me*; and further in obsolete conjunctions of consonants (e.g. *ḥog-du*), words and forms (e.g. *rdzogs-sto*, 5b, 7).

MS. B (India Office MS., Tun-huang Collection (Stein), Ch. 9, I 3 (54), No. 589b; vol. i, foll. 81-6). Foll. 6, numbered, in left margin, *one to six*: c. 9 × 53 cm.: rather thick, slightly yellow, Central Asian paper: ll. 5 per page of rather small, neat, *Dbu-can* script (fol. 6b, l. 1 + a portion of a line in a different, clumsy, hand).

A copy of MS. A, whereof it shares most peculiarities, but giving the superfluous *ḥ* as subscript. Where MS. A has a correction (fol. 5a, 5), it is assumed in MS. B (fol. 5b, 5). On the Chinese version see p. 50.

and linguistic features of the period, varying in many points from standard Tibetan and showing many agreements with the more or less contemporary "documents" edited in this work, lends to their text a special interest; and the text itself being, as explained above (pp. 41-2), the unrevised basis of the *Bstan-hgyur* edition, we may be pardoned for having followed it preferably in the translation. Any serious divergences from the *Bstan-hgyur* recension are recorded in the notes. Concerning the work itself nothing need be added to the discussion (*supra*, pp. 42 sqq.) of its relation to the *Prophecy of the Arhat Samghavardhana*.

The *Annals of the Li Country* (folios 424b, 1,—444a, 4 of the xylograph) is, as Rockhill indicates (op. cit., p. 231), the most valuable of our texts. After retailing the legendary predictions and the origin of the country and its people it settles down to a sober account of the sanctuaries and monasteries founded by the rulers on behalf of the monks and nuns, severally in chronological order. In the colophon it is stated (*infra*, p. 136) that the particulars are in accord with the *Prophecy of the Li Country* (the first part of this work? cf. pp. 312-3, *infra*), the *Inquiry of the Ārya Candragarbha* (i.e., no doubt the *Candragarbha-paripṛcchā*, identical with the *Candragarbha-sūtra*), the *Inquiry of the Devī Vimalaprabhā* (*Vimalaprabhā-paripṛcchā*), and the *Prophecy of the Arhat Samghavardhana*. Of these the *Candragarbha-sūtra* seems to contain only the matter extracted by M. Sylvain Lévi (op. cit., v, pp. 261 sqq.) and partly reproduced in the present text (*infra*, pp. 80, 86-7), and the account of the downfall of Buddhism in Kauśāmbī, which has been discussed *supra* (pp. 45-6). The others are included in the present work.

Scarcely one of the authorities named in the colophon has contributed seriously to the valuable historical contents of the text. These we must trace to the sources mentioned in the body of the work (*infra*, p. 103), namely, "the statements of the paṇḍits of former generations, the paṇḍits

Hgehu-to-śan, Mo-rgu-bde-śi and the rest, in the order of their seniority" and "the written genealogy (*vaṃśāvalī*) of the kings of Li" (*Li-rjeḥi-rgyal-rabs-kyi-yi-ge*). These, to which we may perhaps add the records or *māhātmyas* of the several monasteries, must have furnished the bulk of the details.¹ As we have had previous occasion to mention (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 257), there are some divergences in spelling (*infra*, p. 133, n. 8) which seem to testify to independent traditions in the several religious houses. All this makes for the reliability of the statements, which in this respect are probably quite on the level of the chronicles of Nepal, Kāśmīr, and other Indian states which had chronicles. In regard to the statistics of religious establishments and their occupants, as given at the end of the work, we may remember the not infrequent references to censuses which we have had occasion to elicit (p. 29, n. 4, and Index).

Concerning the succession and chronology of the kings and the particulars of the religious foundations we may refer to the discussions and tables given in the general introduction. The date of the work itself is stated as "the last intercalary month of the Dog year, 1256 years from the origin of the religion in the time of king Vijaya-Sambhava", which event, we are told elsewhere, took place in the fifth year of Vijaya-Sambhava's reign, being 165 years from the origin of the Li country. According to the local chronology, which ascribes the origin of the Li country to the 100th (101st) year after Buddha's *nirvāṇa* and the latter to about 475 B.C., the accession of Vijaya-Sambhava would belong to about the year 215 B.C. and the origin of the religion to about 210 B.C. In consonance with this scheme the composition of the chronicle would be completed in about A.D. 1046. It is placed (*infra*, pp. 103-4) in the time of a king with a full-blown, untranslatable, Tibetan name Btsan-bṣaṇ Btsan-la-brtan. This king being otherwise unknown, the mention

¹ The existence of chronicles in Khotan is attested by the Chinese (Abel-Rémusat, *op. cit.*, p. 37).

of him has for the present no chronological significance : nor can we rely much upon the fact that, since the year A.D. 740-1 is known to have been a "Hare" year, a "Dog" year may well correspond to A.D. 1047. These dates are not to be trusted ; and the time of Vijaya-Sambhava, perhaps not a son of Yehü-la, may have been nearer to A.D. 60 than to 215 B.C. But it is evident in any case that Tibetan influence in Khotan was maintained, together with the Buddhist religion, longer than is usually understood (Grenard, Dutreuil de Rhins, *Le Haute Asie*, ii, pp. 49-50 ; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 181-2).

It seems beyond doubt that the *Annals of the Li Country* is an original Tibetan work, compiled in Khotan during a time of Tibetan influence. It reads like an original ; and the occasional references to Tibetan persons point in the same direction. The hypothesis of a Saka-Khotanī original is excluded by the date, and that of any other Iranian source, or of a Turki-Uigur source, by the forms of the personal and local names, which cannot have emerged from any script employed for those languages. The records upon which the annals are based may have been in several languages, of which, as we have seen, the Sanskrit was one.

TRANSLATION

A. THE PROPHECY OF THE LI COUNTRY¹

(*Lihi-yul-lun-bstan-pa*)

Hail to the Three Gems!

From the origin of the Li country there passed six 4206
generations of kings of Li. During the time of the king of A & B, 1a
the seventh generation, by name Vijaya-Kīrti,² there resided
in a [mountain] valley, named Sa-ka-ya-gyi-ri,³ near to
the monastery San-ka-ya-pra-ha-ṇa-ya,⁴ an Arhat named
Samghavardhana.⁵ A disciple, a certain monk who under
the venerable man had studied the Vinaya, having seen the
sūtra of the prophecy made to the Bodhi-sattva Candragarbha,⁶
inquired of his *ācārya*, the Ārya⁷ Arhat: "In the Li country
and Śu-lig⁸ and 'An-se,⁹ these three, after how long from

¹ In the MSS. the title is amplified as in the colophon, p. 87.

² *Bi-dza-ya-kri-rti* (MSS. and Chinese *°rta*): of a Khotan king Vijaya-Kīrti in the seventh generation, say the first century A.D., nothing is known. For a later Vijaya-Kīrti see *infra*, pp. 118-120.

³ (MSS. *°ka-ri*), the Higgs-tshogs, or Śaṅkā-giri, of the other *Prophecy* (*supra*, p. 53), and probably the Seṅ-ka-tse mentioned *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 226-8. According to the preceding *Prophecy* Samghavardhana belonged to the monastery Phru-ñio and was merely passing the summer months at Śaṅkā-giri. The Chinese record (Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 124) the name "mountains of extreme doubt", applied to a part of the Tsung-ling (Mustāgh-Ata) range. Since one of the names of the Mañicūḍa hill at Kāthmāṇḍū was Śaṅkha, we have here another of the curious coincidences in nomenclature between Khotan and Nepal. It may further be suspected that in both cases there is a reference to the Cakravartin Śaṅkha, who is to be contemporary with the coming of Maitreya: see Professor Przyluski, *La légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 179, and *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 60 sqq.

⁴ i.e. Śaṅkā-prabhāna, the Higgs-tshogs-spon-byed monastery, dedicated to the Buddha Ākāśagarbha (*supra*, p. 15). The Chinese transliterates.

⁵ *San-gha-bardha-ne* (MSS. *San-ga-ba-rtā-na*). Chin. transliterates.

⁶ The *Bstan-hgyur* reads "having seen the *Candragarbha* and the *Vinaya* scripture (*dar-ma*)". On the *Candragarbha sūtra* see *supra*, pp. 45-6, and references. There is also in the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* a very brief *Candragarbha-prajñā-pāramitā* (*Šer-phyin*, *Sna-tshogs*, 5, foll. 266 sqq.), which has no relevance here.

⁷ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "his *ācārya*, the Ārya".

⁸ Kashgar: see *supra*, p. 61.

⁹ See *supra*, p. 61.

the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha will the image(s?) of the Good Religion and the *stūpas* which have been erected perish? By whom destroyed? At the last how will it be?"

The Arhat, commending him,¹ said: "That you have propounded such a doubt is well. Noble Youth,² after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha Śākya-muni the image(s?) of the religion and the *stūpas*³ will last two thousand⁴ years and then perish. In these three kingdoms of Li and so forth,⁵ the Chinese⁶ and the Red-Faces⁷ and the So-byi⁸ and the Dru-gu⁹ and the Hor¹⁰ and other enemies being mostly astir, there will be disturbance owing to their strife. The religion of Buddha weakening, the *stūpas* also will mostly decay and, one after another, fall into ruin. The Saṃghas will have their means of subsistence cut off. Of these three countries 'An-se and Śu-lig, being disturbed by many enemies, not followers of the religion, will be for the most part wasted with fire and havoc,¹¹ and will become desolate. The Saṃghas¹² of the monasteries thereof will come mostly into the Li country. The monasteries, *stūpas* and so forth, of the Li country are protected by¹³ five hundred Bodhi-sattvas: two hundred and fifty settling as persons who have renounced the world,¹⁴ and two hundred and fifty taking birth in the manner of householders, will protect it.¹⁵ The monastery

¹ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "commending him".

² The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "noble youth".

³ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "relics" (*rin-bsrel*).

⁴ *Sic* Chinese. The *Bstan-hgyur* has "one thousand", doubtless the more original figure: see *supra*, pp. 44-5.

⁵ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "of Li and so forth".

⁶ *Rgya*.

⁷ The Tibetans.

⁸ Chin. *Su-p'i*. On the So-byi = Supiya or Sum-pa, see pp. 24, 28, 42, and *infra*, pp. 156-7, and Professor Pelliot's note in the *T'oung pao*, 1920/1, pp. 330-1. They seem to be known also in Saka-Khotanī writings: so Professor Leumann (*Nordar. Lehrs.*, xvi, 9, p. 208).

⁹ The *Bstan-hgyur* has *Drug-gu*, the Chinese *Tu-kü*.

¹⁰ Chin. *Hui-ho* (Uigurs).

¹¹ *bsrags-bzig-bśig-nas*.

¹² The *Bstan-hgyur* has "the Bandes".

¹³ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "occupied by" (*bzugs*).

¹⁴ *rab-tu-byun-ba*: = *pravrajita*. On the numbers see pp. 96, 240.

¹⁵ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "will protect it".

Hgehu-to-sán,¹ having been trodden by the feet of one thousand and five Buddhas of the Good Aeon, will be a continuously enduring mansion. Through the excellence² and compassionate blessing of the Āryas the *stūpas* of the Li country and the practice of the Good Religion will flourish beyond those of other countries and will long endure. Many kings, in desire for the Li country, will dispute and fight; and whichever king wins it will act as a great patron of the Li country; worship will be rendered without failure or diminution.

At that time [those named] "king of the Red-Faces", having through power and great strength seized many territories belonging to others, will hold them. At that time a Bodhi-sattva taking birth as king of the Red-Faces,³ the practice of⁴ the Good Religion will arise in the land of Tibet. Inviting from other lands Paṇḍits of religion and the Word, the *Sūtra-Piṭaka* and so forth, erecting in the country of the Red-Faces many monasteries and *stūpas* and establishing Saṃghas of both sexes, the kings with their whole entourages, councillors and so on, will all practise the Good Religion. During that time the Li country, under the sway of the Red-Face king, will extensively follow the Good Religion and, not curtailing the property⁵ of the Three Gems, the *stūpas* and so forth, will cause them to flourish and do them honour. By seven generations⁶ in the line of the Red-Face kings the Good Religion will be practised. While practising the Good Religion, the seven generations of these kings will

¹ The local, originally Chinese, name of Gośīrṣa: see *supra*, p. 6.

² *gzi-byin*.

³ Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po. The *Bstan-hgyur*, which inserts the phrase *zēs-bya-ba*, intended, perhaps, to give the name.

⁴ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "the practice of".

⁵ *mañ-ris*. On the chronology see pp. 49, 149-164, and Introduction.

⁶ These would include Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, Guñ-ri-guñ-btsan, Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan, Khri-Ḥdus-sroñ, Khri-Ida-Gtsug-brtan-mes-'Ag-tshoms. But, the last named being the seventh (*infra*, p. 80), it is difficult to make up the number without including ancestors of the first, who, however, by reason of the interval in his reign may count as two.

do no harm to the Three Gems and the *stūpas* as established in other countries also, and will not be evilly disposed.

At that time the Samghas of the country, according as ¹ appears from the prophecy made to the Bodhi-sattva Candragarbha,² diminish their faith and are without religion and morality, craving worldly profit and reputation.³ There B, 26 appear many who, entering into the secret deceit of the kings and councillors, humiliate the Good Religion. Then the Uncle-councillors ⁴ and their families also will diminish their faith. The property ⁵ of the Three Gems being used by the monks, the *stūpas* of the Li country and the property of the Three Gems will also decline from what they were before. King and Councillors will have no faith ⁶ in the monks. After that, in the seventh generation, there will be a Bodhi-sattva king of the Red-Faces,⁷ practising the religion.⁸ As that king's consort there will come from China a daughter of the Chinese king, by name Koñ-co,⁹ A, 26 a Bodhi-sattva, with six hundred attendants. This Koñ-co having delight in the exalted Good Religion and being influential, the king of the Red-Faces also will be of great faith, and the Good Religion will flourish even more than before.

At that time there will be as king of the Li country a young man, and he, not following the Good Religion, will command the monks of the Li country, "Either sink into householders¹⁰ or go where you please." Being thus banished, all the Samghas, having assembled in the temple called Tsar-ma,¹¹ will be deliberating, when in their presence, as gathered

¹ *hbyun-ba*.

² The *Bstan-hgyur* reads simply "from the Candragarbha Prophecy".

³ *khe-dan-grags*. ⁴ *zan-blön*. Chin. "great councillors".

⁵ *mñah-ris*. ⁶ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "pleasure".

⁷ *Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms*: see *supra*, p. 60, n. 1.

⁸ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "practising the religion".

⁹ *Kim-cañ(šeñ) Koñ-co*: see *supra*, p. 60, n. 1.

¹⁰ *khyim-par-bobs*. The *Bstan-hgyur* has *skye-bor-babs* "sink into the laity". The king may be the Vijaya-Kirti of pp. 226-7 *infra*.

¹¹ Chin. Tsan-mo. On this monastery see *supra*, p. 56, and ref.

in a group in the monastery,¹ there will appear golden meal² and golden pastry,³ seven portions; which those in want, the subsistence of as many as 5,000 having been 422a cut off by the king, will turn into merchandise⁴: they will thus have sustenance during three months. At that time some monks will sink into householders, while even those who B, 3a do not sink into householders,⁵ but go away,⁶ are downcast at parting with father and mother and kindred and country; so that there is great lamentation. The many Samghas, taking the road and going, arrive at a monastery named Hbom.⁷ A large *stūpa* erected there having been demolished⁸ by a believing Wind-king, from its interior a golden vase full of pearls appears and is offered to the Samghas in general. Also a believing patron will present various means of sustenance. Afterwards the many Samghas arrive in the country Mdo-lo Me-skar⁹; the pearls providing the means of sustenance during half a month. When, having arrived in¹⁰ Me-skar, the Samgha is staying at a temple called Rkoñ-ñān,¹¹ the Great King Vaiśravaṇa¹² and Śrī-Devī, having appeared as a human husband and wife, stay at that A, 3a place and say to all the Samghas: "We are acquiring merit." After giving a solemn feast¹³ to the Samghas during half a month, Śrī-Devī presents the Samghas in general with a bag full of gold coins.¹⁴

Having started in the direction¹⁵ of the country of the Red-Faces, the whole Samgha, falling in with the guardians¹⁶

¹ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "from the circle of the assembled interior attendants in the monastery".

² *zan*.

³ *khur-ba*.

⁴ *zoñ-bsgyur-nas*.

⁵ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "the laity".

⁶ *gud-du* (MSS. *gu-du*).

⁷ The *Bstan-hgyur* has *Hboñ* (Chin. *Mo-m*); the Samghavardhana Prophecy (p. 57) *Coñ* and *Co-na*.

⁸ *dral*.

⁹ The *Bstan-hgyur* reads *Mdo-le* (Chin. "Nu-lu river (*chuan*)"): see *supra*, p. 59.

¹⁰ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "having departed from".

¹¹ The *Bstan-hgyur* has *Stoñ-ña* (=Toñ-kan, p. 312 ?); Chin. *Kung-niang*.

¹² The *Bstan-hgyur* reads *Bai-śra-ma-na* and omits "the Great King."

¹³ *mchod-ston-gsol-nas*.

¹⁴ *don-tse*.

¹⁵ *phyogs-kha-bltaś*.

¹⁶ *gcan* (or *gtsan*)-*pa*.

B, 36 in the defile of the Pha-sán¹ country, were not allowed [to pass].² "If there is another route, follow that," they say. At that time the Great King Vaiśravaṇa,³ manifesting himself in the form of a white yak with a load and a nose-ring,⁴ comes before them and is seen by the Saṃgha, which says: "This laden ('bruised-backed,' Chin.) yak is some man's animal: let us follow wherever it goes." The yak leading by a by-path, in four or five days all the Saṃghas⁵ will arrive at a place named Mtshal-byi,⁶ in the Red-Face country.

422b Then the rulers of that country report to the Red-Face King that many Saṃghas have arrived from the highlands⁷; and the king's consort petitions the king, saying: "From the highland country have arrived many Saṃghas, who are wandering without a country. Pray let me⁸ supply them with escort⁹ and provisions and invite them into the Red-Face country." He consenting, the Saṃghas, having been met by conveyances and provisions, arrive in the Red-Face country. Then the king of the Red-Faces and Koṇ-co, after going with their entourage to pay respects and make salutations,¹⁰ inquire of those among the Saṃghas who are the Paṇḍits learned in the *Three Piṭakas*, "Are there beside yourselves others thus occupied in wandering?"¹¹ The Paṇḍits reply: "In the countries of 'An-se, Śu-lig, Bru-sa,¹² Kha-che also have arrived many Saṃghas so wandering."¹³ Instantly¹⁴ despatching a messenger to summon them, he will invite all the Saṃghas into the country of the Red-Faces. Then, seven monasteries being

¹ On the Pha-sán (Chin. *Ta-Fan P'o-shan*) country see *supra*, p. 48.

² *ma-btan-nas* (Bstan-hgyur *ma-bkylcho*). ³ See note 8 *supra*.

⁴ *ana-leu*.

⁵ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "Bandes".

⁶ Chin. *Sa-pi*. On Mtshal-byi (*Bstan-hgyur* Tshal-byi) see p. 59, n. 11, and Index.

⁷ *stod-phyogs-nas*: Chinese "the west". ⁸ *bdag*: "yourself"?

⁹ *sun-ma*: The *Bstan-hgyur* has *bsun-ma*.

¹⁰ The *Bstan-hgyur* unaccountably reads "having saluted the *stūpa*".

¹¹ The *Bstan-hgyur* reads "inquire, 'Are there among these monks, excepting the Paṇḍits . . .'" ¹² Chinese "P'o-lü".

¹³ The *Bstan-hgyur* reads "are many Saṃghas learned as these".

¹⁴ *dehi-mod-la*.

built in the Red-Face country, the appurtenances of worship and the property¹ of the Three Gems being made greater than before, the Samghas will be settled in those seven monasteries.

Three or four years afterwards, a great pustule having formed upon the breast of Koñ-co, she at the time of falling sick will say to the king, "In case, not recovering from this disease, I die, let me, while still alive,² present to the Three Gems my servants and possessions"; and so presents them.^{2a} Six hundred of her attendants having assumed the insignia of novices³ and renounced the world, after that Koñ-co died.⁴ After Koñ-co's passing away a plague of pustules arose in the realm of the Red-Face king, and many children of councillors and Uncle-councillors⁵ and so on die. Then the councillors, having assembled, petition the king: "Previously in this realm there was not such pock-disease; but now, since many wandering monks of the southern country Nepal⁶ have come, Koñ-co has passed away, and many children of councillors and Uncle-councillors have died; it is right that these monks should not be allowed in the kingdom and should be expelled."⁷ The king having^{423a} directed them to consider again carefully whether it is^{A, 4a} or is not right to expel,⁷ and the councillors being unanimous in favour of expelling the Samghas⁸ and having petitioned the king that the Samghas should not remain in the kingdom, and they having been expelled, the Red-Face monks living on their estates⁹ will be wrathful and say: "If these^{B, 4b} Samghas are expelled, we also will not remain here"; whereupon the councillors will become wrathful and declare: "You also may go where you please."

¹ *mnah-ris*.

² *ma-gum-bar*.

^{2a} Chinese, "The king allowed that."

³ *dge-bñen*.

⁴ *gdod-tshe-hdah-bar-gyur-to*. (The *Bstan-hgyur* has simply *hdas-so*. We have here one of the past tenses, in place of futures, which survive in the Prophecy.)

⁵ *zan-lon*.

⁶ Chin. *Po-péng Jung-I*.

⁷ *bskrad-pahi-rigs*.

⁸ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "the Bandes".

⁹ *gzi-la*: The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "living on their estates".

After Koñ-co's arrival in the Red-Face country, the Chinese¹ king having adopted the religion of *Dehu-si*,² all the monks of China also³ will come into the Red-Face country. So now the Samghas established in the Red-Face country, having packed up the relics, scriptures, appurtenances of worship, in fact the entire property⁴ of the Three Gems in the Red-Face country, will set their faces westwards and go to the country of Great Gandhāra. Then in China, the Red-Face country, India, and the Li country and so on, as far as the Ganges river,⁵ the image(s?)⁶ of the practice of the Good Religion will perish. Beyond the Ganges, in the country of Kauśāmbī,⁷ the image(s?) of the Good Religion⁸ will survive⁹ some three months and then perish.

In a district (*hdab*) of Gandhāra the Samghas arrive at the border of a lake where dwells the Nāga king Elāpatra; and, the lake being through the power of the blessing of the Three Gems made turbid and agitated, the Nāga king, reflecting "Why is my abode become turbid and agitated?", looks
 A, 4b with the supernatural eye; and, realizing that, when the scriptures of the Buddha Śākya-muni and the Good Religion are near to perishing, it is a time for seeing Samghas
 B, 5a in large numbers, he manifests himself in the form of an
 423b old man and, appearing on the bank of the lake, salutes the Samghas and inquires, "So many Samghas, whence are you come? Whither are you going?" The Samghas say, "After we had abode in the kingdom of the Red-Face king the faith of our patrons diminished, and, the support of the Three Gems having declined, we are going into the

¹ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "Chinese".

² No doubt, the religion of the Tao: see *supra*, p. 42. The *Bstan-hgyur* spells *Tehu*. The phrase (*sic* Chin.) means the "Tao priests".

³ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "all the monks of that country".

⁴ *mñah-ris*.

⁵ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits "river".

⁶ *gzugs-brñan* (so Chin.): the *Bstan-hgyur* has *spyod-pa* "practice".

⁷ *Keñu-sa-byi* (*Bstan-hgyur* Kau-śām-bī).

⁸ The *Bstan-hgyur* has only "it".

⁹ *lphyi-ste*. The period should be three years? Chin. "months".

country of Great Gandhāra." The Nāga king says: "Have you provisions for so many Saṃghas? If you go round this great lake into the country of Great Gandhāra, it will be a journey of forty days. If the Saṃghas have provisions for no more than twenty days, how can they arrive?"¹ The Saṃghas being much dejected and weeping, the Nāga king, seeing it, also becomes troubled and sorrowfully says to the Saṃghas: "In this direction there is a by-way, a snake bridge. Over that if you take your way, you will soon arrive." So saying, the old man disappears.

Then the Nāga king will cause to appear a path leading up hill,² and, conceiving in his mind, "I myself will appear as a great snake and, so making a bridge over the lake, will save these many Saṃghas; and so I shall be released from my present brute form, due to my previous evil deeds." So he will make a snake bridge. Many men and animals A, 5a passing³ during fifteen days, some of the men and animals B, 5b will fall from the snake bridge and die. Many men and cattle passing over, the snake's back will show in some places holes, in some places lacerations; so that drops of pus and blood will fall like rain, and the lake will be ensanguined. Also many of the Saṃghas, being the last⁴ in passing over the snake bridge, will be cut down by the Red-Faces. And the snake, falling into the lake, will pass out of life and be born in heaven.⁵ The lake also will dry up.

Then, the many Saṃghas having arrived in the country of Gandhāra and provisions being provided during two 424a years by the king,⁶ they will be settled severally in comfort. Two years having gone, that king will pass away. That king having two sons, of whom one openly favours Buddha,

¹ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "Have the Saṃghas come with provisions for no more than twenty days?"

² *ri-khar-hdzegs-paḥi-lam*.

³ *rgus-pa-las* (*Bstan-hgyur rgal-ba-las*).

⁴ *mjug*.

⁵ *dgah-ldan*.

⁶ The *Bstan-hgyur* has, more briefly, "Then the Saṃghas, being furnished with provisions during two years in the country of the king of ..."

while the other follows a heretical religion,¹ they will contend for ² the sovereignty. The one who follows the religion,³ being supported by the Saṃghas and being victorious, will obtain the sovereignty. During the time of that king the Saṃghas⁴ exercise more influence ⁵ than before, and are happy in possession of abundance. After half a year a monk kills the king, and the monk seizes the sovereignty. But, the Gandhāra king's subjects all revolting and having killed the monk ruler, the other monks also will not be allowed to stay in the country and will be expelled; and in the Gandhāra country also the image(s ?) ⁶ of the Good Religion will perish. The Saṃghas also will go wandering in other regions.

B, 6a

A, 5b

At that time the king of the west and the king of the north, the Ya-ba-na⁷ and others, increasing in power, those three kings will make agreement, and those three kings will seize the western and northern country. The three kings, each accompanied by an army of a hundred thousand men, having marched into the country of Kauśāmbī, the king of Kauśāmbī⁸ will annihilate the armies of three hundred thousand men, along with the kings, leaving not a single man. Then the king of Kauśāmbī, in order to purge the sin of slaying so many armies, will invite all the monks resident in Jambū-dvīpa; after arriving in the Kauśāmbī country the Saṃghas will quarrel and slay each other, and the image(s ?) ⁹ of the Good Religion in Jambū-dvīpa will there entirely perish.

But the details may be known as stated in the *sūtra* of the Prophecy made to the Bodhi-sattva Candragarbha.¹⁰

¹ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "the Deva religion".

² *rdod (sdod)-par-hgyur*.

³ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "the Deva religion".

⁴ The *Bstan-hgyur* has "the Bandes".

⁵ *dban-than-bskyed*.

⁶ *gzugs-brñan*: The *Bstan-hgyur* omits.

⁷ = Yavana (Chin. *Ye-po-na*): see *supra*, pp. 45-6.

⁸ *Kebu-śa-byi* (*Bstan-hgyur* *Kau-śām-bī*).

⁹ *gzugs-brñan*. The *Bstan-hgyur* has simply "the Deva religion of Jambū-dvīpa there perished".

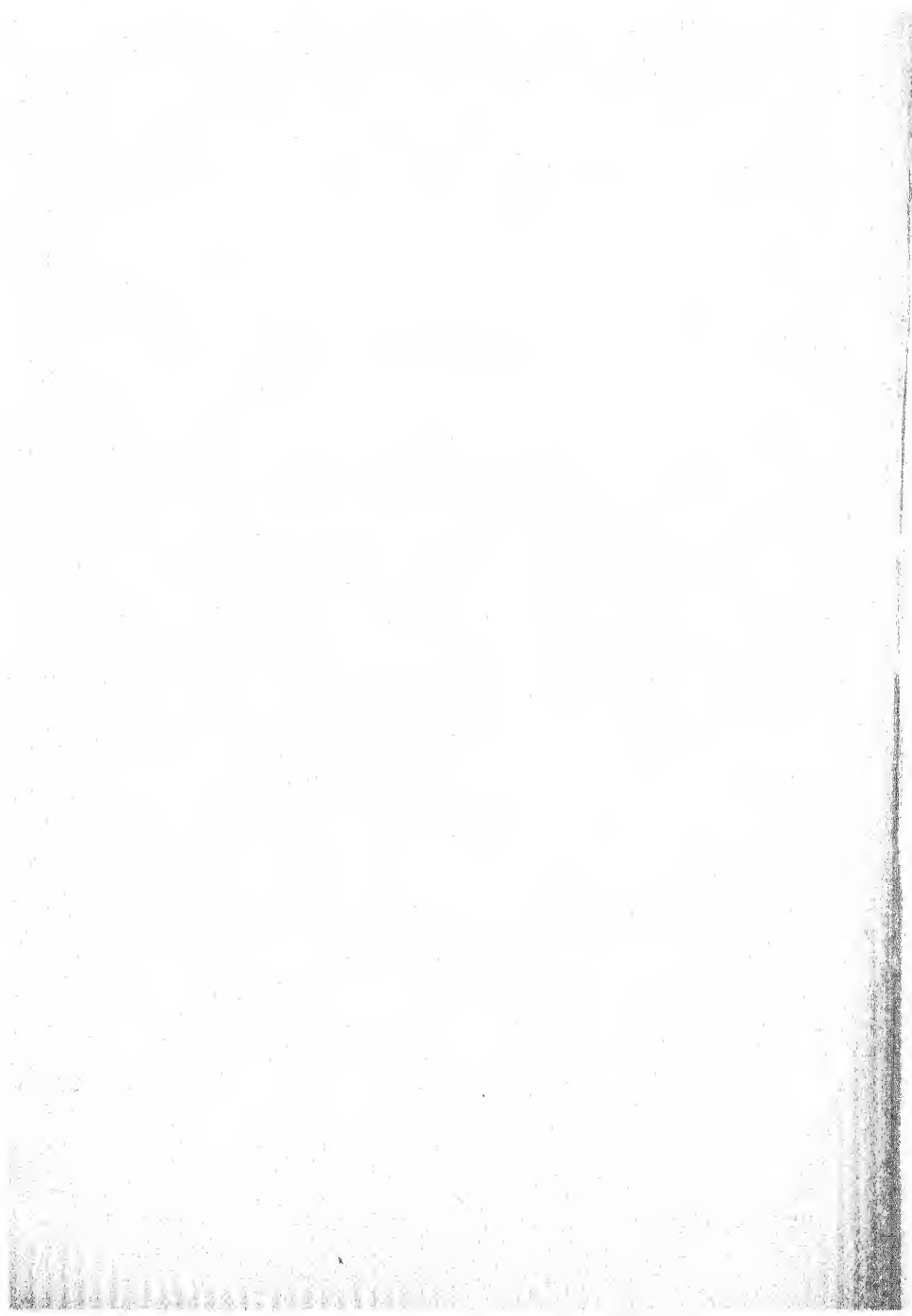
¹⁰ The *Bstan-hgyur* omits this sentence.

Five hundred and seventy-six million years after the *nirvāṇa* of the Holy Śākya-muni, the Buddha Maitreya will come for the sake of living creatures into this sphere 424b of the Sahā Universe.¹

End of *The Prophecy of the Ārya Arhat of Li (Khotan)*, how after the *nirvāṇa* of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, the image(s ?) of the Good Religion will decline and perish.²

¹ *mi-mjed-kyi-hjig-rien-khams* = *sahā-loka-dhātu*.

² In the place of this colophon (which the Chinese omits) the *Bstan-hgyur* has simply "Accords with the *Candragarbha Prophecy*".



TRANSLATION

B. THE ANNALS OF THE LI COUNTRY¹

(*Li-yul-gyi-lo-rgyus*)

From the book² *Epitome of the virtues of the exalted stūpa* 424b
Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da and of the great image of Śākya-muni³
 standing on the top of the hill *Gośrṣa*⁴ :—

“Of the Buddha Śākya-muni, who after complete accumulation of merit and wisdom, acquired for the sake of the many living beings, attained Supreme Enlightenment,⁵ there are on the whole earth mansions⁶ of residence twenty-one.⁷ This country, Li, the twenty-first mansion of the Tathāgata, is in comparison with the other mansions of residence pre-eminently meritorious. At a time when the Li country had long been a lake the Buddha Śākya-muni, in order to prophesy its becoming a country and to bless

¹ On the relation of the “Annals” to the preceding “Prophecy” see *supra*, pp. 73-4.

² *gzuñ* is given, with the sense of *grantha* “book”, in the dictionary of Tshe-rin-dban-rgyal; and clearly a *Māhātmya* is here indicated. But the particular work is not known. Concerning the twenty-one shrines of Buddha there are passages in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (Chinese version, c. xix) and the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* (Tibetan version, *Bkañ-hgyur*, Mdo 20, foll. 335-6), concerning which reference may be made to M. Sylvain Lévi's “Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde” (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. iv, pp. 546-7, 555-7; vol. v, pp. 281-2). Those accounts of the Khotan shrine, the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gandha, are probably older than that which has been given above in the *Gośrṅga-vyākaraṇa*; but, naturally, they are briefer, the two *sūtras* not being specially concerned with Khotan, although obviously they regard it with special esteem. They convey no information not comprised in our texts.

³ This is clearly the image designated *Phyi(e)-se* (= *pisai* = *guru*, see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 265-8) in the *Gośrṅga-vyākaraṇa*. It is mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang (Julien, iii, p. 229; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 313).

⁴ *Glañ-mgoñi-ri*, “Ox-head hill”.

⁵ *bla-na-med-pañi-saṅs-rgyas* = *anuttara-bodhi*.

⁶ *pho-brañ* (*vimāna*).

⁷ The twenty-one, as given in the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra*, are Nandivardhana, Vaiśālī, Kapilavastu, Magadha, Mathurā, Kosala, Phug-gi-pha-rol (Śūrpāraka, as Chin.), Gandhāra, Kāśmīr, Jālandhara (Ambulima?), China, Khaśa (Khotan), with others which are mythological.

it, soared through the sky at mount Gr̥dhra-kūṭa,¹ attended by Bodhi-sattvas and Disciples, the Eight Classes² of gods and Nāgas and so forth, a retinue of twenty myriads, and, coming to the Li country, then a lake, sat on his lotus-throne on the water, near where is now the bank of the river Mgo-ma.³ Having prophesied the lake's becoming a land and having given blessing, he orally appointed eight magnanimous Bodhi-sattvas,⁴ with a retinue of two myriads, and eight lords tutelaries, with a retinue of three myriads, five thousands, five hundreds and seven, to guard this exalted place of worship and the land. Following the command, Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa demolished the mountain Sa of *snag*⁵ and, the water having departed, there was a site. Buddha having sat down on his former lotus-throne and having upon the hill Gośṛṅga,⁶ at the place where now stands the great image of Śākya-muni, remained during seven days and nights rapt in trance,⁷ returned to the city Vaiśālī⁸ in the land of India.

425a "A hundred years having passed since the *nirvāṇa* and the Li land having become land, in the region where formerly Buddha had his seat on the surface of the lake and within the present Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da *stūpa*, in a *stūpa* of Gośīrṣa⁹ sandal, upon a green crystal shrine, were deposited relics of four past Buddhas. As many as reach that place shall be earnest¹⁰ in doing worship: all who do

¹ *Bya-rgod-phun-po*. In the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa* Buddha starts from Rājagṛha in Vaiśālī (!). The Gr̥dhra-kūṭa, now named Śailagiri, hill is about 2½ miles N.E. of old Rājagṛha (see Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 466).

² These Eight Classes are Devas, Asuras, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Nāgas, Mahoragas, Rākṣasas.

³ *chu-bo-ṣel-chab-Mgo-ma*: In the *Candragarbha* and *Sūryagarbha* (Mdo, xx, 336a) the river is named *Gomatī*, an obvious Sanskritization. The *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*, as we have seen (*supra*, pp. 12, 19), has *Go-ma*.

⁴ Named *supra*, pp. 15-16.

⁵ *snag-gi-sa-ri-dral-le*: See *supra*, p. 34, nn. 4, 5. *Snag* means ink (folk-etymology of *Tsa-nag*, p. 93 ?), *infra*, p. 95.

⁶ *ri-Glaṅ-ru*,

⁷ *tin-ne-hdzin* = *samādhi*.

⁸ *Yans-pa*. See p. 11, nn. 10-11.

⁹ *Glaṅ-mgo-can-dan*.

¹⁰ *gces-spra(o)s*.

worship¹ shall, according to the Prophecy, attain Irreversible Knowledge²: should they during seven days and nights have done worship with circumambulation, they shall be made pure from the five Deadly Sins.”³ So it is stated.

In the town Nectarean, on the eastern side of the city Dge-ba-can,⁴ is an exalted spot blessed by Buddha in a prophecy, the *stūpa* of 'A-dha-ma⁵ with its iron chain, a resort of the Thirty-three Lords, where at the four seasons, in the first month, the tutelar Devas and Nāgas of the Eight Classes and so forth meet in a great assembly. Ever since this ancient *stūpa* originated the Saṃghas of both sexes and the chief rulers of the land perpetually⁶ at the four seasons, in the first month, do worship at home⁷ on a great scale. In accordance with the texts⁸ also, when in the land have arisen evils from pestilence,⁹ foreign foe and so forth; at those times, in accordance with¹⁰ the *Mahā-saṃnipāta*¹¹ of the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Mahā-yāna, 'when the *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka*¹² is recited conflict is allayed', and also as a custom derived from the texts, every year

¹ *mchod-do-cog-thams-cad*.

² *phyir-mi-ldog-paḥi-rig-pa* = *avaivartika-jñāna*.

³ *mi-shams-med-pa-lha* = *pañca-ānantarya*.

⁴ *Dñar-ldan*: It is natural to think of a corruption of *lha-ldan*, "consisting of five": see Sarat Chandra Das, *JASB.* lv, p. 195, and *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 256-7. This, however, is precluded by the fact that *Dñar-ldan* is mentioned elsewhere: see *infra*, p. 104, etc. It should be noted that the words *Dñar-ldan-groṅ-khyer-khar-Dge-ba-can-gyi-sar-phyogs-na* might be rendered "on the east side of the *Dñar-ldan* town, which is the city Dge-ba-can" or *vice versa*. Probably *Dñar-ldan* (Sk. *Madhumatī*) was a part (eastern) of the city of Khotan: see *infra*, pp. 187, 250 n. 4, 306 n. 2.

⁵ This *stūpa*, to which reference was made in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 269-70, does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere; but clearly it was one of the most ancient sanctuaries of the city of Khotan.

⁶ *den-saṅ-gi-bar-du*, a standing phrase.

⁷ *nañ-mar*: or = *nañ-par*, "in the morning"?

⁸ *gzuñ-las*.

⁹ *mi-ña*.

¹⁰ *zes-hbyuñ-bas*.

¹¹ *Hdus-pa-chen-po*, the well-known work, of which the *Candragarbha* and *Sūryagarbha sūtras* are reckoned as parts. See Nanjio's catalogue, Nos. 61 sqq., and M. Lévi, op. cit., iv, p. 546; v, p. 261.

¹² *Dam-paḥi-chos-padma-dkar-po*, "Lotus of the Good Religion": On the popularity of this *sūtra* in Khotan see *infra*, pp. 188, 190, and Index.

perpetually, in spring and summer and autumn, the Saṃghas of Hu-then, those held to belong to them¹ from seven years upwards, reinforce their piety² by reciting the mentioned *sūtra* and so forth and make general blessing.³

As to the Eight Great *Stūpas*:—The city of Kapila⁴ has in its Lum-pa⁵ wood a great *stūpa*; in the country 425b Magadha, in Rājagṛha,⁶ on the bank of the river Nairāñjanā, at Vajrāsana,⁷ on the site of the Illumination,⁸ is a great *stūpa*; in the country Magadha, in Rājagṛha, on the spot where Māra's army of eighteen hundred thousand was vanquished, is a great *stūpa*; on the spot where Buddha, after winning illumination, remained during seven days and nights without speaking⁹ and Brahmā besought him to turn the Wheel of the Law, is a great *stūpa*; in the country Kāśī, in the Mṛgadāva, near to the city Barṇasa,¹⁰ on the site of the Wheel-turning, is a great *stūpa*; in the country Kośala, in the city Śrāvastī,¹¹ on the spot below where, after the defeat of the ninety-six sects of Māra fiends,¹² the Great Miracle was manifested, is a great *stūpa*; in the country Basa, in the city Sāṃkāśya,¹³ on the spot where Buddha came from the realm of the Thirty-three Devas, is a great *stūpa*; in the Malla country,¹⁴ in the city Kuśottara,¹⁵ on the spot where beneath the two Śāla trees¹⁶ the *nirvāṇa* took place, is a great *stūpa*.

¹ *bzugs-so-tshäl*. ² Or 'invoke their patron saints', *thugs-dam-bskul*.

³ *bsno-col-rgya-cher-bgyid*.

⁴ *Ser-skyah-groñ-khyer*.

⁵ i.e. the *Lumbinī* grove. The curtailment of the name suggests that the last part of the word *Lumbinī* (-na) was understood to mean "wood": see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 267, and *infra*, pp. 187, n. 3, 233, n. 5.

⁶ *Rgyal-pohi-khab*. On this see p. 11, n. 11. ⁷ *Rdo-rjeñi-gdan*.

⁸ *mñon-par-byan-chub* = *abhisambodhi*. It seems that the two next mentioned *stūpas* can hardly be different from this one, which seems to show that the text contemplates the topography of Buddha-Gayā from afar.

⁹ *cañ-mi-gsun-bar*.

¹⁰ *Ri-dags-kyi-tshal*, near *Vānārāsī*, *Vārāṇasī*, "Benares."

¹¹ *Mñan-du-yod-pa*.

¹² *Mar-Bdud*: The ninety-six heretics (Beal, op. cit., i, p. xlviii).

¹³ *Saṅ-ka-śa*: *Sāṃkāśya*, in the Doab, is here reckoned as belonging to the country of the Vatsas or Vamśas.

¹⁴ *Gyad-yul*.

¹⁵ *Riswa-mchog*.

¹⁶ *Śin-sa-zun*.

As to the Eight Great *Stūpas* with relics :—In the country Ramagramaka is a great *stūpa*; in the country Pāvā¹ is a great *stūpa* with relics; in the Malla country is a great *stūpa* with relics; in the country Vaiśālī is a great *stūpa* with relics; in the country Cañcākalpa² is a great *stūpa* with relics; in the country Viṣṇudvīpa³ is a great *stūpa* with relics; in the country Kapila⁴ is a great *stūpa* with relics; in Rājagṛha⁵ is a great *stūpa* with relics.

As to the annals of the Li land and as to the reckoning of the monasteries and Saṃghas of both sexes :—In ancient times, when first the Buddha Kāśyapa⁶ came into the world, the Li country had just then become land. The people occupying it followed the religion. Afterwards, when the religious doctrine founded by the Buddha Kāśyapa^{426a} declined and the religion of the Li land also decayed, many sages, the sages Kha-ra-śva and Kha-reḥu-stein⁷ and many others, settled within a short period at mount Tsa-ṅag⁸ in a part of the Li land and were engaged in acting as Pious Friends. After they had done so those sages were harmed

¹ Pā-ba. ² Tsan-tsā-kal-pa. ³ Written *Bai-snu-dva-pa* : = Veṭṭha-dīpa.

⁴ i.e. Kapilavastu.

⁵ *Rgyal-poḥi-khab*.

⁶ *Hod-srun*.

⁷ Evidently these two sages have some connection with the Rṣi Kharuṣṭa named in the passage edited in Hoernle's *Buddhist Fragments*, pp. 121 sqq., and in M. Sylvain Lévi's articles there cited. In the passage referring to the same incidents of the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, of which M. Lévi gives (v, pp. 256-8) a translation, the two sages Kharāśva and Kha-reḥu-stein (= Kharoṣṭra) are not mentioned. It may be remarked that the ancient name of Khotan there given from the Chinese as *Kia-lo-sha-mo* (cited also by Professor Lüders in his article "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan": Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, 1930, p. 31 (35)) must represent a Sanskrit **Kharāśman*, since the Tibetan equivalent (*Bkaḥ-ggyur*, Mdo 20, foll. 338b, 6; 339a, 2) is *Rdo-rtsub* "Hard (or Rough)-stone". Possibly there is some relation between this name *Kharāśman* and that of the second saint, Kharāśva; conceivably also the designation underlying the folk-etymology has some relation to the name of Khorasan, *Khvarizm*, Zend *x^oairizām*. If so, Kharoṣṭra might also have some Iranian connections, if not with Zarathuṣṭra, as suggested by M. Lévi (op. cit., iv, p. 552 n.), then with *khara* + *vāstra*.

⁸ Apparently not mentioned elsewhere, and therefore probably supplied by local information; see p. 90, n. 5.

by certain bad men, who treated them contumeliously¹ and showed them no honour or respect. Being displeased, the sages left the Li land and, flying up into the air, departed to other lands. Then the people of the Li land, losing faith in religion, entertained perverted views. The Nāgas, being displeased, let in the water, and the Li land became a lake.²

After it had been a lake during a long time, the Buddha Śākya-muni was born in the country India : working on behalf of living creatures, he performed the deeds of a Buddha, turning the Wheel of the Law and so forth ; and, when the time was at hand for manifesting his *nirvāṇa*, the Buddha, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, staying on mount Gr̥dhrakūṭa in Rājagṛha, uttered the *Candragarbha*³ ; and at that time, on the occasion of appointing lords of the several lands and their tutelar Devas and Nāgas, he made prophecy of the Li land also and appointed Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjñin,⁴ generalissimo of the Yakṣas, and king Ajātaśatru's⁵ daughter, Vimalaprabhā,⁶ and Kumāra Vajrasena,⁷ and the Devaputrī Susthiramati,⁸ and the Devī Hārītī⁹ and the rest, with their retinues. The Holy One himself with a retinue of the four orders,¹⁰ in hundreds of thousands, soared into the air and came to the Li land.

4266 In the direction where now stands the great *stūpa* of Hgum-tir¹¹ he sat on a lotus seat which above the lake

¹ *rhan-lchan-bgyis*.

² In the *Sūryagarbha* (Lévi, op. cit., v, p. 257) the Nāgas, less appositely, do the opposite of this.

³ *Zla-baḥi-sñin-po*. On this *sūtra* see *supra*, pp. 45-6.

⁴ *Yan-dag-šes* : This must be the *Seng-eul-ye* of the Chinese *Sūryagarbha* (Lévi, *BÉFE-O.* v, p. 257). As the Tibetan there has the rendering *Mñ-can*, the Sanskrit equivalent must be *Samjñin*. See p. 20, n. 1.

⁵ *Ma-skyes-dgra*.

⁶ *Dri-ma-med-paḥi-hod* : Concerning this and the following divinities see *infra*, pp. 179, 202, 256.

⁷ *Gñon-nu-Rdo-rje-sde*.

⁸ *Blo-rab-brian*.

⁹ *Phrog-ma*.

¹⁰ *Sc.* monks and nuns and novices of both sexes.

¹¹ On this monastery (not *stūpa*) see *infra*, pp. 108-9.

rose into the air to the height of about seven *talas*¹; and from the Buddha-spheres² in the ten directions the Tathāgatas, signalling the blessing of the Li land, shot out lights into the quarters, flooding them. Also, in order to bless the Li land, all the Tathāgatas residing in the ten directions—having from their several Buddha-spheres despatched their retinues of Bodhi-sattvas to do worship to Buddha Śākya-muni, and the hearts of Mantras³ which should guard and bless the land, and their lights—assembled at one time in the crest of the Buddha Śākya-muni,⁴ and, when the blessing had been made, raised a great cry of “Righteous”.

Then the Holy One, Śākya-muni, having for a while⁵ flooded with light the Li land, at that time a lake, from those lights uprose in the lake lotuses three hundred and sixty and three, and on each lotus was a lamp. Then those lights, coming all together, circled thrice from right to left upon the water and sank down into the depths of the lake. Then the Holy One pronounced to Ārya Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa: “Do you break⁶ down the mountain Samaṇsaraṇa Parbata⁷ [into] this ink-coloured lake.” So he pronounced; and Ārya Śāriputra with the end of his mendicant’s staff⁸ and Vaiśravaṇa with the point of his lance broke open [a passage for] the lake. The Holy One, on his part, for the working of the purpose of living creatures, abode there seven days on the top of the Gośīrṣa hill, on the spot where now is a little *stūpa*, within a temple to the left of where stands the great image.

¹ A *tala* is in Sanskrit *tāla*, “palm” or “span”. On the retention of the word in Tibetan cf. Schiefner’s note, *Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 317, 31.

² *sans-rgyas-kyi-zin* = *Buddha-kṣetra*.

³ *snags-kyi-sñin-po* = *mantra-hṛdaya*: cf. *Āditya-hṛdaya*.

⁴ Compare what is said *infra* (pp. 183-5) in the case of Vimalaprabhā.

⁵ *can*: or “entirely”. ⁶ *drol*.

⁷ This is the *sa, śa* (or *śar*)-*ri* of the other accounts (*supra*, pp. 34, n. 4, 90). Is it = *samavasaraṇa*, Jaina *samosaraṇa*?

⁸ *gseg-šan* (*sic*).

Then Ārya Ānanda¹ inquired of the Holy One: "O Holy One, through what cause, what occasion did these lights and
 427a lotuses and lamps appear? Through what cause, what occasion did these lights and lotuses and lamps come all together and, having thrice circled from right to left, sink down into the depths of the water?" The Holy One pronounced: "Śāriputra with the end of his mendicant's staff and Vaiśravaṇa with the point of his lance having cleft open the lake, hereafter the lake will be dry, and after my *nirvāṇa* a land called the Li land will exist here. In the place where the lights thrice circled, in each circumference,² hereafter will be built the great five-towned city of Hu-then.³ In the place where the lights sank into the depths of the water, blessing and guarding the land, an image of the Buddha of Rā[ma]grāma, made with my blessing that into the sandal no bodily defilement shall penetrate, will come through the sky from the land of India and there abide. In the places where rose the lotuses and lights on the water hereafter monasteries three hundred and sixty and three, with monks and nuns following the Mahā-yāna, will be built by kings and so forth, faithful donors. There rendering worship to relics of the Tathāgata, Bodhi-sattvas, in the station of monks and nuns two hundred and fifty, in the station of laymen two hundred and fifty,⁴ five hundred in all, will perpetually dwell. Furthermore, [there will be] Bodhi-sattvas in the Irreversible Stage,⁵ engaged for the most part in the expansive career of the Mahā-yāna. This is the pocket estate⁶ of the Buddhas who come in the Three Times."

Then the Eight Bodhi-sattvas, the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara and the rest, and Vaiśravaṇa and
 427b Saṃjñin,⁷ generalissimo of the Yakṣas, and the Noble Lady Vimalaprabhā,⁷ and Kumāra Vajra[sena],⁷ brother and sister,⁸

¹ *Kun-dgañ-bo.*

² *khor-khor-yug.*

³ *Hu-then-gyi-khar-lha-ldan-gyi-gron-khyer*: see *supra*, p. 91, n. 4.

⁴ These traditional numbers appear also *supra*, pp. 78, 240.

⁵ *phyir-mi-ldog-paḥi-sa* = *avaivartika-bhūmi*.

⁶ *zhin-khud-pa*; cf. *infra*, pp. 105, n. 2, 109, n. 4.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 94, nn. 4, 6.

⁸ *lcam-dral.*

and the gods and Nāgas and so forth were appointed by the Tathāgata to be tutelaries at all times. Then to the Holy One the Bodhi-sattvas Mañjuśrī and Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, and Ākāśagarbha,¹ and Kṣitigarbha,² and Samantabhadra³ and Mahāsthāma,⁴ and Bhaiṣajya-rāja Bodhi-sattva, and Vaiśravaṇa with his retinue of three thousand Yakṣas, and Saṃjñin, generalissimo of the Yakṣas with his retinue of ten myriads, and the Deva Aparājita⁵ with his retinue of a thousand, and Ākāśacakṣus⁶ with his retinue of eight thousand, and the Deva-putra Suvarṇa-mālika⁷ with his retinue of five hundred, and the Nāga king Sthānatapta⁸ with his retinue of a thousand, and the Devī Aṅkasavatī⁹ with her retinue of ten thousand, and the Devī Sthānavatī¹⁰ with her retinue of five thousand, and the Noble Lady Vimalaprabhā, and Kumāra Vajrasena, and the Deva-putra Susthīramatī, and the Devī Hārītī with her retinue, and the rest, in the presence of the Holy One undertook with a vow to guard the Li land. Down to this day, ever since first the Buddha, attended by those eight Ārya Bodhi-sattvas and Vaiśravaṇa and the other lords, and Devas and Nāgas and Devīs, came to Gau-to-śan¹¹ and abode there, surrounded by his numerous retinues, those Bodhi-sattvas and lords and Devas and Nāgas, in the places which they severally occupied and on the spot where they took their vow, even now do guard the land and bless it; and manifestations and signs occur.

Aśoka and Kustana

Afterwards, when from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha two hundred and thirty-four years¹² had elapsed, there was a

¹ *Nam-mkhaḥi-sñin-po.* ² *Saḥi-sñin-po.* ³ *Kun-tu-bzan-po.*

⁴ *Miku-chen.* ⁵ *Gzan-gyis-mi-ihub-pa.* ⁶ *Nam-mkhaḥi-spyan.*

⁷ *Geer-phren* (p. 20, n. 5). ⁸ *Gnas-dros-po.* ⁹ *Lcags-kyu-can.*

¹⁰ *Gnas-ldan-ma*; see pp. 20, n. 7, 310, n. 10.

¹¹ = *Hgehu-to-śan* with later (or dialectical) pronunciation of *ehu*, the name of modern Chinese.

¹² It appears below (pp. 103-4) that this date refers not to the accession of Aśoka or to the birth of Kustana, which *infra* (p. 103) is attributed to

king of India named Dharmā 'A-śo-ka, who, having formerly
 428a put to death many living beings, subsequently, upon obtaining
 as Pious Friend¹ a certain *Arhat*, by name Ya-śo; made
 avowal and confession of his previous sins, the evil deeds
 which he had done, and vowed to do such no more.
 Worshipping at the monasteries of Jambū-dvīpa which had
 been blessed by the Buddha Śākya-muni and at the existing
stūpas, and seeking where there were blessed sites, potent
 in blessing, he went erecting monasteries and *stūpas* to the
 number of eighty-four thousands.

At the time when the Li land, after the drying of the
 lake, was vacant, having on his travels arrived at Kus-po-yen,²
 the site where now is the citadel of Hu-then, he was spending
 the evening³ there. During the night the king's chief consort
 gave birth to a fine boy of marked appearance. Previously

the thirty-first year of Aśoka's reign, but to Kustana's installation as king
 of Li.

The resultant dates, with equivalents upon the assumption that the
 death of Aśoka took place in 237-6 B.C., are:—

<i>Nirvāṇa</i> of Buddha	Year 0	476-5 B.C.
Accession of Aśoka	„ c. 184	292-1 B.C.
Birth of Kustana	„ c. 215-16	261-0 B.C.
Accession of Kustana to sovereignty	„ c. 234-5	242-1 B.C.
Death of Aśoka	„ c. 239-40	237-6 B.C.

Since, however, the date for Aśoka's accession is impossible and the
 stated length of his reign, fifty-five years, differs by about nineteen years from
 the usual estimate of thirty-seven years, it is probable that the number
 234 was originally attached not to Kustana's accession, but to his birth.
 This, if it took place in Aśoka's thirty-first year = 234 years from the
nirvāṇa, would fall in about the year 240 B.C. And there is some probability
 in this by reason of the synchronism with the Chinese emperor Shih Huang Ti,
 246-210 B.C.

Sceptical as we may be concerning the story of Kustana (with its variants,
 as *supra*, pp. 17-18), it seems likely that Khotan was, in fact, founded by a
 Chinese prince belonging to the time of Shih Huang Ti; and the date 234 +
 19 = A.B. 253, circa 224 B.C., is perhaps to be preferred to A.B. 234,
 circa 242 B.C., on the ground of moderation and also in view of the date
 of Vijaya-Sambhava, as stated below.

¹ *dge-baḥi-bśes-gñen* = *kalyāṇa-mitra*, "religious adviser", quasi-con-
 fessor: see *supra*, p. 58, etc.

² *Infra* (p. 99, n. 4) the name is in the form *Kus-bu-yen*.

³ *rgons-btab-pa*.

that consort of the king, having entered a grove in the park,¹ and being engaged in bathing in a small tank,² had seen above her³ Vaiśravaṇa passing in the sky with his retinue. Beholding the fine person of Vaiśravaṇa, the king's consort had become pregnant, and in Kus-bu-yen⁴ she was delivered. King Dharmā 'A-śo-ka summoned the sign-readers⁵ and inquired, "Will this child's life be long or short? Are his marks good or bad? What is his fortune?" The sign-readers said, "This child has good marks. His fortune will be very great. He is not an ordinary human being, and before his father has departed this life he will be king." King Dharmā 'A-śo-ka, being jealous, said angrily, "He so fortunate! He to take maybe⁶ the sovereignty while I am alive! I do not require him: cast him away." When 428b the mother declined to abandon the boy, the king became very fierce; so that, fearing he would kill the child, she cast him away. In the sequel a breast arose from the earth, and, sucking thereat, he did not die: later he received the name Earth-Breast.⁷

Now there was a king of China,⁸ a great Bodhi-sattva with power for a thousand sons. He had nine hundred and ninety[-nine] sons: the thousand being short by one, he offered a prayer to Vaiśravaṇa and made his request. Vaiśravaṇa, looking, descried the boy Earth-Breast, meritorious and a castaway. He took him and placed him in the position of a son of the Chinese king. The Chinese king reared the child. When he was grown a big lad, in the course of a play-quarrel with his Chinese brothers it was

¹ *kun-dgaḥ-ra-ba* = *ārāma*.

² *rdzis-bu* = *rdzin-bu*.

³ *yas*.

⁴ = *Kus-po-yen* above.

⁵ *las-mkhan* = *naimittika* or *daivajña*.

⁶ *grañ*.

⁷ *Sa-nu*. Sometimes (p. 18, n. 1) the form of the name is given as *Sa-las-nu-ma-nu* "Earth-Breast Mother-Breast", with a perhaps fortuitous assonance to Sanskrit *Manu*. In any case we have a popular etymology of *Kustana*, the name of the eponymous founder of Khotan.

⁸ The Emperor Shih Huang Ti, 246-210 B.C.: see *supra*, p. 98, n. The synchronism supports a date c. 242 B.C. for Kustana's birth.

said to him, "You are no son of the Chinese king"; whereat the boy was dejected and spoke to other persons concerning his history. It having so turned out, he besought the Chinese king, "Let me found a not yet existent realm: pray let me go to found a realm." The Chinese king replied, "You are my son: this is your country: do not grieve." But, though several times thus admonished, the young Chinese prince Earth-Breast would not listen. He quarrelled¹ with the king, and, having assembled a force of ten thousand, sought a country in the west. Being allowed to seek a land, he came to Me-skar² in the Li country.

Kustana and Yaśa

After his arrival a councillor of Dharmā 'A-śo-ka of India, by name Ya-śa,³ having a bad odour, had become obnoxious to the king,—the councillor Ya-śa himself, his sons, all from master to menial. In number seven thousands they left the country. Seeking a land east and west, ever in search of a land, they had come to the region east of the rivers⁴ of Hu-then, when, two traders named Śer and Zaṇ, of Prince Earth-Breast's company, having some cows for the most part in calf, the cows, still carrying their young, on reaching the Žugs-ṇam direction⁵ from (or of) Me-skar, bolted to To-la.⁶ The two men, pursuing, came to To-la. The cows having brought forth their calves, that country
 429a received the name "Calves-delivered(or fled)-country", *Hbru-so-lo-ña*.⁷ Also the Žugs-dams (sic) of To-la received in

¹ *thabs-stsal*.

² On Me-skar see *supra*, p. 81, n. 3.

³ On Aśoka's minister Yaśaḥ see the *Divyāvadāna* (*passim*).

⁴ *śel-chab-goṇ-maḥi-yul*. Or "the country of the eastern river".

⁵ Or "plain". On the Žugs-ṇam see Pt. II, p. 205. The name is Tibetan (see *infra*, p. 101, n. 1), "fire-ravine" (or "swamp", *ḥdam*).

⁶ To-la is the native name of Mdo-lo, on which see *supra*, p. 59, n. 3.

⁷ As has been pointed out (*Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258-9), this popular etymology probably implies the equations *Hbru* = "calf"; *so* = "delivered" or "bolted"; "went"; and *ña* = "country" or "region": cf. Pt. II, pp. 181-2 *infra*.

the Li language the name "Śer's-cows-delivered (or fled)", *Śer-ba-brāns*.¹

Then, on the two men looking, it was a fine territory, vacant. "This is fit to be the realm of our Prince Earth-Breast," they said; and counselling together, they investigated and came to a territory of that character. Arriving at the eastern river of *Hu*-then, they encountered the councillor *Yag(sic)-śa's* people, who said: "Whose men are you? Whence come you?" The two men related the particulars of Prince Earth-Breast's history. *Ya-śa* sent word by message up to² Prince Earth-Breast in *Me-skar*, saying: "You are of royal race; I of the race of councillors. Water and milk³ mix. With you as king and me as councillor, we should found a realm in this territory of *Hu*-then." So Prince Earth-Breast came with his following to the eastern river of *Hu*-then: they met at a place called *Hañ-gu-jo*,⁴ to the west of Parish *Hdi-ñe*.⁵ Not agreeing as to the territory, the Prince and the councillor *Ya-śa* sent their armies and fought: whereupon *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Śrī-Devī*, appearing in the sky, forbade them to come to close quarters.⁶ On that very site dwellings were built for the residence⁷ of *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Śrī-Devī* severally, and they are there to this day. As tutelaries of the land the Lord *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Śrī-Devī* are worshipped.

The Li country and language: chronology

Subsequently Prince Earth-Breast and the councillor *Ya-śa* agreed: Earth-Breast becoming prince and *Ya-śa*

¹ The native name indicated was probably the *Hañ-gu-jo* mentioned below; see Introduction. In the Tibetan *ser-ba-brāns* (on which see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 259) the word *brāns* really = *brāṇ* or *brāṇ-sa* with the meaning "halting-place with hut": see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 272.

² *steñ-du*.

³ *chu-sin*.

⁴ This is, no doubt, *Hañ-gu-ya* in the *Sampula* district, on which see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 161, 471. The form *Hañ-gu-ya* occurs in a document discussed *infra*, Pt. II, p. 171. Cf. p. 25, n. 7, and p. 309.

⁵ On *tshar* "parish" see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 169 sqq. The parish *Hdi-ñe* is perhaps indicated by the *-i-ña* of the document, *infra*, Pt. II, p. 172.

⁶ *bśugs-te-hīhag-tu-ma-sṣaḥ*; cf. pp. 59, 81, 309.

⁷ *stan-khan*.

councillor, king Earth-Breast's following, the Chinese, organized the country from the western (*sic*) river of Hu-then to the Mdo-le¹ province and Skam-śed²; while the councillor Ya-śa's following, the Indians, organized the country from the eastern (*sic*) river to Du-rya and Koñ-śed.³ The land between the rivers being organized by the councillors and subjects, Indian and Chinese, intermingling as they found vacant places,⁴ they established the country and built the city.⁵

Li being a land where India and China meet, the common language agrees with neither India nor China. The letters agree successively⁶ with India.⁷ The manners⁸ of the laity agree for the most part with China: the clerical⁹ manners and the clerical language agree for the most part with India. As to the common speech of Li, originally it was taught by the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī, who had taken the shape of one teaching language¹⁰ to pupils and the name Vairocana, to children, the cattle-herd boy Hjes and *mu-le*¹¹ Hji and so forth; and thus arose in the place called Tsar-ma¹² the language of Li. When it had been taught to all, the two children, upon inquiry as to their whereabouts, were *non-est*;

¹ No doubt = Mdo-lo.

² On Skam(Kam, Kham)-śed(śeñ), the eastern region of Khotan, see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 260, and *infra*, pp. 135, 320-3, and Introduction.

³ *Du-rya* seems to be a certain emendation of *Rgya*: see *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 260-1, and *infra*, p. 135. On *Koñ-śed*, the mountainous region to the south-west of Khotan city, see *Asia Major*, *ibid.*, and *infra*, p. 135.

⁴ *stons-rims-hdres-par*.

⁵ Concerning this threefold division of the Khotan territory (a) east of the rivers, Skam-śed; (b) between the rivers; and (c) west of the rivers, Koñ-śed(śeñ) and Ku-śed(śeñ), see *infra*, pp. 135, 322-3.

⁶ *bags-kyis* = *kramena*, i.e. "one after another" ("approximately"?).

⁷ The text has *Rgya* "China", clearly an error for *Rgya-gar* "India".

⁸ *lugs-no* seems to be a miswriting for *lugs-ni* (or *lugs-rnam*).

⁹ *chos* = *dharma*.

¹⁰ *nag-slob*.

¹¹ As suggested in *Asia Major*, ii, p. 270, the word *mu-le* probably means "girl"; cf. the *molet*, *molai* of Hbrog-pa dialects of W. Tibet (*ap.* Shaw, *JASB.* 1878, i, p. 57) and in *Šinā* generally.

¹² On Tsar-ma see *infra*, pp. 104 sqq.

and, as to the language of Li, *wah-ma*,¹ it was maintained and taught² by the Āryas.

As to the years which have passed since the origin of the Li country:—After hearing the statements of the paṇḍits of former generations, the paṇḍits of Hgeḥu-ton(*sic*)-śan, paṇḍit Mo-rgu-bde-śi³ and so on in the order of their seniority,⁴ and carefully considering the Prophecies⁵ of the Āryas and the written genealogy of the kings of Li,⁶ [we find as follows]:—

Reckoning from when in the beginning king Ajātaśatru became king in India, king Ajātaśatru held the sovereignty during about thirty-two years. When there were five years of his rule, Buddha attained *nirvāṇa*: from that time he reigned twenty-seven years. From king Ajātaśatru to king Dharmā-Aśoka ten generations of Indian kings held sway. Dharmā-Aśoka was Universal Monarch⁷ during about fifty-five years. When he had ruled thirty years from his accession, prince Earth-Breast was born. At twelve years of age Earth-Breast, having quarrelled⁸ with the Chinese king, went to found a country in a territory previously non-existent. King Earth-Breast having been nineteen years old when he 430a established the Li country, reckoning exactly down to his first becoming lord of Li, two hundred and thirty-four years had passed from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha when the Li country first⁹ arose. From the time of prince Earth-Breast's first becoming lord of the Li country and obtaining royal state to when the Li king Btsan-bzañ Btsan-la-brtan was first

¹ As we are here dealing apparently with a popular etymology, it is likely that in the Khotan vernacular *wah-ma* (if it does not mean "hidden": see *infra*, p. 244, n. 1) could approximately mean "is not" or the like: *ma* means "not" in Tibeto-Burman languages. But perhaps the correct reading is *thah-ma*, "low," "inferior," or "finally."

² *brtan-ciñ-bslabs-pa*.

³ On Mo-rgu-bde (de)-śi see *infra*, pp. 109–10.

⁴ *bgras-rim-rnams*. Or "antiquity"?

⁵ *luñ-bstan-pa*.

⁶ *Li-rjeñi-rgyal-rabs-kyi-yi-ge*. *Rgyal-rabs* is the ordinary equivalent of *vamśāvali*. It is to be noted that the order of kings followed in this text had the support of a written record.

⁷ *spyir-rgyal-pa*.

⁸ *rgyal-thabs-brtsal-nas*.

⁹ *gdod*.

installed as king of Li there were fifty-six generations of kings of Li and one regent.¹

Yehü-la and Vijaya-Sambhava: the Tsar-ma foundation

Prince Earth-Breast, the councillor Ya-śa and so forth having been the first settlers after the ancient drying up of the lake, it was a king named Yehü-la,² son of the founder prince Earth-Breast, who built the Nectarean town³ of the Hu-then country. One hundred and sixty-five years had

¹ *phyag-tshab*. The chronology here indicated seems to be as follows: (a) *nirvāṇa* of Buddha; (b) 31st year of Aśoka, 215th year from the *nirvāṇa*, birth of Kustana; (c) 19th year of Kustana's life, 234th year from *nirvāṇa*, foundation of Khotan; (d) after 56 (55) generations of kings and one regent, accession of Btsan-bzañ Btsan-la-brtan. The last, no doubt the ruler in whose time the text was composed, has a Tibetan name. The regent may have belonged to the time of King Vijaya-Saṃgrāma, as mentioned *infra*, p. 126.

The composition of the text is assigned *infra*, p. 136, to the 1256-7th year from the introduction of Buddhism, in the time of Vijaya-Sambhava, which, according to the statement below, took place 165 years from the origin of the Khotan country. If this event is that ascribed above to the 100th year after the *nirvāṇa*, the point of departure would be only 265 years after the *nirvāṇa* and only some 14(?) years after Kustana's own accession: the date of composition would be *circa* 211 B.C. + 1256-7 years, or about A.D. 1046, which would fall within the period of Uigur rule (see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 180-1).

It seems probable that the date of Kustana's birth and that of his accession at 19 years of age have been confused and that it is the former event that was placed in the 234th year after the *nirvāṇa*. See pp. 97-8, n. 12, *supra*. If we reckon the period of 165 years from K.'s accession in c. 224 B.C., Vijaya-Sambhava will have succeeded in c. 59 B.C., a more likely date, and will not have been his grandson. The date of composition would then belong to the post-Uigur period (A.D. 1196).

In any case the period from the accession of Vijaya-Sambhava to that of Btsan-bzañ Btsan-la-brtan, say 1260 years, would yield an average of about 22 years for the reigns of the 56 (55) kings and the one regent; and this is not improbable. But clearly we are not in a position to fix definitely any of the dates.

We should note that the sovereignty of Khotan is stated by the Chinese (see Abel-Rémusat, *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 40) to have remained in the same lineage, although the nomenclature may have varied with the political situation.

² Yehü-la is perhaps the king Yol mentioned in the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*, *supra*, p. 25, n. 5.

³ *Dnar-lān-gyi-grōn-khyer*: On this name see *supra*, p. 91, n. 4.

passed since the origin of the Li country, it being five years from the accession of king Vijaya-Sambhava, [son] of prince Yehu-la, when the religion first arose in the Li country.¹ Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, realizing that this country of Li was a pocket-estate² of the Buddhas of the Three Times, took human birth, Maitreya appearing as king Vijaya-Sambhava, and Mañjuśrī as the monk Ārya Vairocana. Coming to a place of termination of action and suffering, the grove Tsu-le³ in the Tsar-ma country, they acted as Pious Friends of the beings in the Li country. They also fashioned the Li language and expounded it to children, cattle-herds; moreover, they taught the Li alphabet⁴; after which the religion arose.

Next king Vijaya-Sambhava,⁵ [son] of king Yehu-la, becoming a patron,⁶ built for his Pious Friend Vairocana the great monastery of Tsar-ma, the first in the Li country. All king Vijaya-Sambhava's councillors and subjects 4305 together with their dependants having severally asked to build monasteries in Tsar-ma and many buildings having come into being, the king realized that "If I do not allow the building of monasteries, it becomes an actual sin⁷ on my part. But, if so many are built, afterwards some, having fallen into ruin, cannot be set up again".⁸ He appealed to his Pious Friend, the Ārya Vairocana, who replied: "If you give orders for building a monastery and *stūpa* with *sāriras*,⁹ relics of the Tathāgata, wherever existing, it will

¹ On the period of 160 years see *supra*, p. 104, n. 1. The (improbable) date indicated for the beginnings of Khotan Buddhism is about 211 B.C.

² *khud-pa*: cf. *zin-khud-pa*, *supra*, p. 96, n. 6.

³ = Cu-le, cf. p. 305, n. 5.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 102.

⁵ Perhaps the first really historical king of Khotan (c. 60 B.C.?), his name having been preserved through association with the oldest monastery, that of Tsar-ma. For particulars of the genealogy and the foundations see the Introduction.

⁶ *yon-bdag* = *dāna-pati*.

⁷ *dnos-sdīg*.

⁸ *yañ-mi-sloṅs-su-(glo-ba-chud-nas)*: Or is this "was inclined not to build"?

⁹ *sku-gdun*.

be no sin." The king gave orders to his councillors and subjects accordingly; and, when the great monastery of Tsar-ma had been built by Vijaya-Sambhava, there was among the little monasteries and *stūpas* which the king's courtiers and councillors would have built not a single one in which a *śārīrā* had not been given a place.

The monastery having been built, the Ārya Vairocana said to king Vijaya-Sambhava, "Let the king strike the *gaṇḍī*¹ and invoke the Āryas." The king uttered a prayer, "Until the Tathāgata comes here manifest and puts the *gaṇḍī* into my hand, I will not strike the *gaṇḍī*." Immediately the monk Vairocana, who was an apparition of Mañjuśrī, manifested himself in the sky as the Tathāgata; and, while the sixteen Great Disciples² all together in the Tsar-ma expounded the way of the Tathāgata, he put the *gaṇḍī* into the hand of 431a king Vijaya-Sambhava. The king took the *gaṇḍī*, and during seven nights the sound of that *gaṇḍī* went on without interruption.³ As a sure sign of the Tathāgata's manifestation having come in visible form, an imprint of his footstep on the stone exists in Tsar-ma to this day. In honour of the Āryas, the sixteen Great Disciples, the king presented sixteen feeding-bowls made of various jewels; and these were bestowed by the Āryas as a cache in the Tsar-ma monastery. Later, as we learn from the *Prophecy of the Ārya Saṃghavaradhana*, when the evil time comes⁴ and the Saṃgha is without patrons, those feeding-bowls will, at a time for providing food, rise from below the ground.⁵

For the purpose of honouring the monk, Ārya Vairocana,

¹ On the *gaṇḍī* see *supra*, p. 16, n. 9.

² On the 16 Arhats see *J.As.* xi, viii, pp. 5 sqq. (Chavannes and Lévi).

³ For Sung-Yun's and Hiuan-Tsang's accounts of the foundation of Tsar-ma see Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp. lxxxvii-viii, ii, pp. 311-3; *Life of Hiuan-Tsang*, pp. 205-8. They situate Tsar-ma at a distance of 10 *li* (say 2 miles) to the south of the capital.

⁴ *duś-nān-sa-śīn*. Cf. p. 22, n. 5.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 57, 81, 313, where the number of feeding-bowls is stated as seven. The event is treated as still future.

the Nāga king Hu-lor¹ invoked from Kāśmīr a *stūpa* containing relics of the seven Tathāgatas; it came through the sky and now stands in Tsar-ma. This *stūpa* is inside the *gandha-kuṭī*,⁵ and [the relics] are seen in the side of the *stūpa*.² When a king named Vijaya-Śimha³ had come to worship in the Tsar-ma monastery, he saw a fine image with figures worked in clay⁴ come there and was cleansed of the five Deadly Sins⁵—so it is still said.

To guard the monastery the Deva Ākāśacakṣus and Mañibhadra⁶ undertook in person,⁷ and down to the present day manifestations⁸ and signs⁹ occur. According to¹⁰ the Prophecies of the Āryas these were the first monasteries built, and, Āryas only having acted as Pious Friends and donors, in the monasteries and *stūpas* which are said to have been 431b built¹¹ are relics of the Tathāgatas and relics of Bodhi-sattvas and Disciples and of Buddha himself; so that they are potent and of great blessing. Prior to them no monastery arose in the Li land.

¹ This Kāśmīr Nāga Hulor (elsewhere Hulanta) is perhaps the Hulluṇḍa of the *Mahā-vyutpatti*. The matter is somewhat interesting.

The Kāśmīr Nāga Hulor is noted by Rockhill in connection with the present account (*The Life of the Buddha*, p. 238, n. 1). Rockhill calls attention to the fact that elsewhere he appears, with the name Hulunta, as the Nāga subdued by the apostle Madhyantika (ibid., p. 167, n. 2). The Nāga, therefore, is identical with the Mahāpadma of the Wular lake. We may mention that the Tibetan version of the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* (*Bkaḥ-ggyur*, Mdo, 20, fol. 336a, 2-3) gives the name *Hulura* in transcription.

The name of the Wular lake appears Sanskritized as *Ullola*, and the neighbouring region is called *Holaḍā* (see Sir A. Stein's translation of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, index). But it seems clear that the Sanskrit is merely an attempt to render the vernacular *Hulura* and *Hulluṇḍa* (or *anda*), of which the latter seems to be preserved in *Holaḍā*. It may be suggested that the same word is really represented by the Chinese *Heou-lo-tch'a*, the name of a Nāga of Ki-pin-na (*ap. Lévi*, op. cit., v, p. 267).

² *dri-gtsan-khan*.

³ This Vijaya-Śimha may be the one mentioned *infra*, p. 128.

⁴ *sder-so* (= *lder-isho* or *°bzo*)-*bggis-pa*.

⁵ *mtshams-med-pa-lha* = *pañca ānantarya* (*supra*, p. 26, n. 5).

⁶ *Nor-bu-bzan-po*.

⁷ *zal-gyis*.

⁸ *mñon-rtags*.

⁹ *mtshan-ma* = *nimitta*.

¹⁰ *dan-sbyar-na*.

¹¹ *bzugs-so-hishal*.

*Vijaya-Vīrya: the Hgum-tir and Hgehu-to-san monasteries:
Mo-rgu-de-si*

From the origin of the religion at Tsar-ma through the monk Ārya Vairocana, a manifestation of Mañjuśrī, and the building of the monastery by king Vijaya-Sambhava, during seven generations of kings of Li no other monasteries were built. After that the Āryas, Arhats Buddhaduta and Khagata and Khaga-drod, having first¹ come from India, settled at Ārya-stana² of Hgehu-to-san.

At that time the Bodhi-sattva Maitreya also had become Vijaya-Vīrya, king of Li. That king, looking from the top of his castle,³ beheld outside the city⁴ a light as of gold and silver. Following it, he came where now stands the great *stūpa* of Hgum-stir (*sic*). On his looking, the stag⁵ became Samjñin, generalissimo of the Yaksas, who said to the king: "Ho! king, according to a Prophecy of Buddha you ought to build here a monastery." "Build for whom?" inquired the king. "For one named 'Messenger of Buddha', the Arhat Ārya Buddha[dū]ta, and others, four, who have come to be your Pious Friends: for them build"—thus he was admonished. Those Arhat Āryas, too, having come into the presence of king Vijaya-Vīrya and having expounded the religion, he, remembering a vow in a former existence, forthwith drove in there the site-fixing peg⁶ and built the monastery Hgum-stir.⁷

¹ *dan-bzin*. Or read *°bzi* "four altogether"?

² *Ārya-sta-na*: This evidently means *Ārya-sthāna*, in contrast to *Ku-stana* and *Cīna-sthāna*.

³ *srog-mkhar*.

⁴ *mkhar*.

⁵ *ša-ba* = *śva-ba*. At this point there must have been an omission in the story, with which compare that told (*infra*, p. 112) of king Vijaya-Dharmā, and the name, "Stag-pierced," of the Lu-she monastery.

⁶ *nog-sa-brtag-paḥi-phur-bu*: The *phur-bu* has the shape of a three-edged dagger.

⁷ This is the Gomatī monastery, where Fa-hian stayed (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i, pp. xxv-vii) and where a monk Buddhāsena was staying at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. (Lévi, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 556). Its name, *Hgum-tir*, was popularly explained as meaning "river Go-ma's bank" (*goma-tira*; see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 262). It was different from the Hgehu-to-san monastery on the Gośrṅga Hill (see pp. 7-8), and may have been situated below the hill.

Afterwards, while king Vijaya-Vīrya was engaged in doing worship in the Hgum-tir (*sic*) monastery, there was inquiry ¹ 432a for a little lost child. After a search the infant was found near a *stūpa*, containing relics of the Buddha Kāśyapa, which was in a little hollow ² of Hgehu-to-śān. The king asked, "This *stūpa*,³ in whose time and by whom was it built?" His Pious Friend, the Ārya, with his own lips said: "This *stūpa* was built at the time when the Buddha Kāśyapa attained *nirvāṇa*; it contains relics of the Buddha Kāśyapa. At the time when the Li country originally became a lake this *stūpa* was not destroyed, being covered by a mountain; hereafter, too, when this country again becomes a lake, again the *stūpa* will not be destroyed, being covered by a mountain. When the Buddha Maitreya has arrived and the lake, drying, becomes land, this *stūpa* will appear. In this place, which is the Buddha's pocket-estate ⁴ of the Tathāgatas who come in the Three Times, is also this mansion Hgehu-to-śān. Here come all the Buddhas of the Three Times and give Prophecies and work for the good of living beings. From the several Buddha-realms in the Ten Directions twenty thousand Bodhi-sattvas also come in the Three Times to do worship on this Gośīrṣa hill and then return."

Thereupon king Vijaya-Vīrya, greatly strengthened in faith, built on the Gośīrṣa hill the Hgehu-to-śān ⁵ monastery. The little child,⁶ having been freed and sent away, afterwards obtained the fruit of Arhatship. Before him there was in the Li land none who became an Arhat. So, being the "way-

¹ *rjes-bcas*. The "lost (hidden) child" may be *gūḍha-śiśu* (p. 110, n. 1).

² *lun-bu*: see *supra*, pp. 6-7.

³ The famous Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da *stūpa*.

⁴ *zin-khud-pa*: see *supra*, pp. 96, n. 6, 105, n. 2.

⁵ This monastery (on which see *supra*, pp. 6-7) surrounded the Go-ma-sa-la-gan-da *stūpa*.

⁶ Here evidently is omitted a story on the lines of that told by Huan-Tsang concerning, possibly, the same monastery. The story was doubtless invented partly in order to explain the local name *Ārya-stāna* (*Ārya-sihāna*), which probably marked the first Buddhist settlement in Khotan (on the Gośīrṣa Hill).

432b shower", he received the name *Mo-rgu-de-si*¹: thus first arose the name *Mo-rgu-de-si*. Down to this day hermits² and those who have accumulated excellent works of asceticism³ are entitled *Mo-rgu-bde-si*. In addition to⁴ the sites of these two monasteries, Hgehu-to-śan and Hgum-tir, having been trodden by the feet of the Tathāgatas held to have been born⁵ in succession in the Three Times, and blessed by them, it is in accordance with⁶ the Prophecies of the Āryas that, whereas the founders of these monasteries and their Pious Friends and the donors were Āryas alone, in the monasteries and *stūpas* held to have been founded⁷ by them there are relics of the Tathāgatas and Bodhi-sattvas and Disciples and of Buddha himself; so that they are potent and of eminently great blessing. The protection of the monasteries was undertaken in person by Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjñin, generalissimo of the Yakṣas, and Sthānatapta,⁸ king of the Nāgas. Down to the present day all sorts of manifestations and signs occur; so that they are the chief of the Li monasteries stated to have been founded.

Vijaya-Jaya: the Ma-za-Po-ta-rya monastery and stūpa

After king Vijaya-Vīrya's building of the Hgum-tir monastery during two generations of kings no other monasteries were built. After that a king named Vijaya-Jaya, having taken to wife a daughter of a Chinese king, by name Pu-ñe-śvar,⁹ that daughter of a Chinese king, desiring

¹ A popular etymology (= Sk. *mārga-deśin*). It has been previously suggested (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 263) that *Mo-rgu-de-si* was really the vernacular equivalent of *Hgehu-to-śan*, with [*mo*]-*rgu* = "ox", *de* = "head", "top", and *si* = "hill", the *gūḍha-śiśu* of p. 109, n. 1, being *Rgu-de-si*.

² *thub-ldan*.

³ *dkaḥ-kīthub*.

⁴ *sten-du*.

⁵ *lbyun-no-htshal*.

⁶ *dan-sbyar-na*.

⁷ *bzugs-so-htshal*.

⁸ *Gnas-dros-po*.

⁹ The story of the Chinese princess and the silk-worms is related also in Hiuan-Tsang's memoirs (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii, pp. 318-19). No indication of date is there given. The site of the monastery, there named *Lu-shi* or *Mo-shi*, is defined as 5 or 6 *li* to the south-east of the royal city. If the name is really *Mo-shi*, it may correspond, as Watters suggested (*On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 302), to the local name *Ma-za*. The introduction of silk-culture into Khotan probably took place early, perhaps about the beginning of the Christian era.

to have seed of silk-worms in the country, reared silk-worms in a place called Ma-ža. While the silk-worms were still not mature, some crafty¹ councillors appealed to the king: "King Vijaya-Jaya, through that procedure of the queen many poisonous snakes are swarming in Ma-ža. When they 433a are grown big, conceive the harm to the districts. What is to be done?" "Set fire to the snake-rearing house and burn them all," he commanded. On hearing of this, the queen, unable for the moment to explain the matter² to the king, rescued a portion of the worms and reared them in secret. Afterwards, having procured³ Kāśmīr silk and silk from flock-silk⁴ and *men-hdri*,⁵ she showed them to the king, and, having shown them, gave an exact account of them. Whereupon the king was seized with regret, and a monk, the Ārya Saṃghagoṣa, from India, having arrived in the Li country, he invited him to become his Pious Friend; having confessed his sin in killing worms *en masse*, and having been absolved, he built the great *stūpa* and monastery of Potarya and Ma-ža.⁶ He also presented *sārīras*, relics of the Tathāgata, in great quantity; and since then, in consequence of a Prophecy of the Āryas that throughout⁷ the beginning of the first spring month an image of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, is stationed in the Ma-žo-Po-ta-rya monastery, down to the present day the Saṃghas of both sexes in Li, and from king and councillors down to the subjects, each year,⁸ at the beginning of the first spring month, assemble one and all to do worship in the Po-ta-rya monastery. Of this monastery, potent and of great blessing, the guardianship was undertaken by the Devas Ratnabhava and Ratnaśura in person; and down to the present day miracles⁹ and signs also occur.

¹ *sgyus-ma-hṣhal*.² *rgyus-kyis-bśad*.³ *gtags*.⁴ *śrin-bal-las-phyun-nas-dar* "silk from worm-hair".⁵ *men-hdri*, or *men-tri*, is often mentioned in documents from Chinese Turkestan: see *supra*, p. 69, and Index.⁶ The name *Potarya* perhaps survives in the modern Potakla, which is in the same quarter (cf. *Asia Major*, ii, p. 264).⁷ *thog-thag*.⁸ *lo-re-zin*.⁹ *dnos-rtags*.

Vijaya-Dharmā: monastery and stūpa of Hdro-tir

433b Afterwards, king Vijaya-Jaya having three sons, the eldest Hdon-hdros, not desiring the sovereignty, went to India to acquire merits. His junior, the middle brother, likewise not desiring the sovereignty, became a Bande¹: receiving the name Dharmānanda, he went to India to study religion. The youngest became king and received the name Vijaya-Dharmā. King Vijaya-Dharmā, a fighter and a man of great prowess, took delight in slaughter. His senior, the Bande Dharmānanda, while in India, by hearing, conning, and meditating upon religion, became an Ārya Arhat. The Ārya Dharmānanda, looking from India, and seeing that his junior, king Vijaya-Dharmā, was occupied in killing and attached to sinful, unvirtuous ways, was filled with compassion. In order to be his Pious Friend, he came from India to the Li country and made a hut near to the lower (western) river, at the foot of the N̄on-bgyir² hill, and there abode in meditation.

Each day that Ārya, taking the likeness of a gold-coloured deer, came to a spot where, outside the fort of Hu-then on the eastern side, was a small hill called Hgus-no. Seeing him from the top of the castle, king Vijaya-Dharmā shot an arrow and pierced the thigh of the deer, which fled. The king went in pursuit, and the deer entered the hut of the Ārya Dharmānanda. The king went after it; but, when he looked, the deer was nowhere in the hut: he saw only a monk, with an arrow through his thigh and drawing it out. He did
434a not recognize that it was his elder; but, when his elder, the monk Dharmānanda, pronounced a blessing, he recognized with dismay that it was his elder. "Your Reverence, what is the matter?", said the king. "You have shot an arrow at me: what is to be done?" was the reply; the king, perceiving that there was no deer, said: "If I have done harm, ten thousand reparations." The monk made answer: "I am your elder brother: in the second place, I am become

¹ = monk (*vandya*, bonze).² See p. 15, n. 10.

an Ārya, an Arhat. King, a strange sin¹ attaches to you. You will have done a deed equivalent to a Deadly Sin.² Without confession and atonement and much good done it is not well."

The king was seized with repentance and in great dejection clasped the Ārya Arhat's feet, entreating: "Forgive, I beseech! How may I, by making confession and atonement, be cleansed of this sin?" The Arhat Dharmānanda said: "There being now nothing else to be done,³ in the locality called Hdro-tir there is a district Pa-bi-na, the place where formerly, when the Buddha, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, during his career as a Bodhi-sattva, was ruling as king Candraprabha,⁴ and a Brāhman asked for his head, the king cut off his own head and sent it to the Brāhman to content him,⁵ arduous trial the first.⁶ Secondly, when the Holy One, Śākya-muni, attended by a great retinue of Bodhi-sattvas, came from Gr̥dhra-kūṭa of Rājagṛha to Hgehu-to-sān to bless the country, the Bodhi-sattvas Kṣitigarbha and Rikṣata 'Aśoka blessed this spot and stayed here and still stay. Down to the present day these images exist here. In the third place, the little wood Pha (*sic*)-bi-na,⁷ of Hbod-bha-loṅ, as it is called, was trodden by the Holy One's feet, and blessed to be a place 434b of meditation for Āryas of later times. To guard these places the Deva Jinariśaba,⁸ the Devī 'Aśoka, and the Nāga king Takṣaka all three took a vow; and down to the present day they guard it. If the king build here a monastery, he will

¹ *mtshar-gyi-sdig-pa*.

² *mtshams-med* = *ānantarya*.

³ *hphral-gzan-byar-med-kyi*.

⁴ *Zla-hod*: concerning the story of Candraprabha see R. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* (index).

⁵ *phrin-yig*: I have adopted the meaning *saṃtoṣa*, given by the dictionary *Tshe-rin-dban-rgyal* (ed. J. Bacot, 1930).

⁶ *las-dkaḥ* (so read)-*rnam-pa-gcig*.

⁷ = *Pa-bi-na supra*: doubtless the syllable *na* means "wood"; see *supra*, p. 92, n. 5.

⁸ For a mention of Jinariśaba see Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, xi, v, 1915, p. 135, and *infra*, p. 123, n. 1.

be cleansed from past and future sins, whatever of evil deeds he has done."

King Vijaya-Dharmā believed and vowed to abstain from slaughter in the future. On the spot where King Candraprabha made to the Brāhman the gift of his head he forthwith planted the site-fixing peg: for his Pious Friend, the Ārya Dharmānanda, he built the *stūpa* and great monastery of Hdro-tir. Within the castle also, on the inside of a little door in the southern gate, on a spot appertaining to the great Nāga-king Varuṇa, he built in front of a potent *stūpa*, named Pa-ri-tha, which was there, an interior monastery¹ and a great *stūpa*: in the *stūpa* he deposited relics of the seven Tathāgatas. He himself procured also some original intact² relics of the Buddha Prabhūtaratna³ and deposited them likewise in this monastery. This Hdro-tir⁴ monastery also being potent and of great blessing, down to the present day manifestations and signs occur. The Māhāsamghika sect⁵ and the monk Ārya Dharmānanda having [thus] first come into the Li country, in Hu-then the Samghas of the eight monasteries appertaining to⁶ Hdro-tir and the eight monasteries of Kam-sed belong to the Māhāsamghika sect.

*Vijaya-Dharmā and Hdon-hdros: the Sañ-tir monastery
Hjah-mo-ka-ka-roñ*

435a Subsequently king Vijaya-Jaya's eldest son, the prince Hdon-hdros, exerted himself to purchase a site for building the monastery of Sañ-tir.⁷ Not finding the requisite funds for the appurtenances,⁸ prince Hdon-hdros thought: "Without robbing from others, without stealing, without detriment to the property of the Three Precious Ones, pure wealth will

¹ *nan-gi-gtsug-lag-khañ.*

² *ma-ñig-pa.*

³ *Rin-chen-man.*

⁴ Hdro-tir ("the Hdro district") seems to have been situated between Hgum-tir and Sañ-tir, south-west of the city: see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 262.

⁵ *sde.*

⁶ *gtogs-pa[r]*: see p. 125, n. 5, and Index.

⁷ See *supra*, n. 4.

⁸ *yo-byad* = *pariṣkāra*.

I myself, planting my feet, plant them to gain,¹ and I will build a monastery." With this thought he first went to India and requested the Paṇḍit Ārya Samantasiddhi to be his Paṇḍit. All the time he was in Stod-phyogs² he acquired pure wealth. Then returning, he went to China; and, one of the Chinese king's councillors being charged with disaffection³ and condemned to death, he besought the king of China to be pleased to kill him as substitute⁴ for the councillor; and the king consented. When the executioner struck the prince with his sword, milk flowed from the wound,⁵ and he did not die. Greatly astonished thereat, the Chinese king and the others showed respect to him and offered him many presents. The councillor also gave him, as the price of his life, abundant gifts; taking which, he afterwards settled, together with a large following, in a province⁶ of the Li country.

King Hdon-hdros' younger brother, king Vijaya-Dharmā, being in possession of the sovereignty, some of the councillors said: "The prince's senior,⁷ prince Hdon-hdros, has been appointed by the Chinese king as king of the Li country and has come to wrest away Your Majesty's sovereignty." Whereupon king Vija[ya]-Dharmā was displeased with his elder brother Hdon-hdros and, betaking himself to his stronghold,⁸ would not even admit him to an interview, ordering him to stay in the place where the Sañ-tir monastery was to be built. While in Sañ-tir, the elder brother, prince Hdon-hdros, was not allowed by his junior authority even in regard to water and grass and wood, purchasing with his own money and so supplying what was required. So, looking in the direction of his Pious Friend, the Paṇḍit Ārya Samantasiddhi, in India, he saluted and did reverence to him and, offering a prayer, invited him.

¹ *rkañ-gi-btsugs-te-btsal-la-gtsugs*.

² "The upper region" is a name of the region about Mt. Kailāsa.

³ *gyod-la-chags-te*: see Pt. II, p. 6.

⁴ *skyin-par*: see Pt. II, p. 234.

⁵ *bcad-hphro*.

⁶ *hdab-ñe-ba*.

⁷ *gcen*.

⁸ *sku-mkhar*.

The Paṇḍit soared into the air from India, and, coming into the presence of king Hdon-hdros in the Li country, became his Pious Friend in the building of the monastery: "In order to effect a reconciliation of the two princely brothers, who are not meeting, it were well¹ if the Thirty-three should come in the sky and perform in the Li country *No-le*² and dramatic show³ of how the Holy One, Śākya-muni, during his career as a Bodhi-sattva, accomplished arduous deeds, making donation of members of his body and of wife, offspring, and so forth." So the Devas came to the place called Sañ-tir, in the Li country, and performed a dramatic show of the arduous deeds formerly wrought by the Holy One, Buddha.

King Vijaya-Dharmā had announced to his councillors and subjects that "It is not well that a single person should be there". But, hearing the grand music of the Devas, such as had never been before, and one man calling to another,⁴ they could not resist and went there. Thereupon the king inquired where all the royal courtiers were, and the councillors gave a full explanation. King Vijaya-Dharmā also was unable to resist and went to the vicinity⁵ of the Sañ-tir 436a monastery. The elder brother, king Hdon-hdros, having happened to come there, the brothers met.⁶ The younger, king Vijaya-Dharmā, saluted his elder, and, kneeling on the ground with folded hands, said: "Ārya, through ignorance of your power I have done wrong: I beg forgiveness of my

¹ Literally "It were not well if . . . not", a normal phrase.

² The derivation of *no-le*, which clearly denotes a dramatic performance (see *JRAS.* 1925, pp. 498-501), is obscure. Possibly, however, it is connected with *neḥu-le*, "ichneumon," and may be a translation of Sanskrit *nakula*; since *nakula* is given in the *Lalita-vistara* (B. & R.) as a name of a certain musical instrument (cf. *nakuloṣṭhi*). What is the relation of this to the *nakkār-khāna* (where *nagqār* seems to be good Arabic) in Indian temples and in Khotan (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 200, 227)? The music of Khotan is specially mentioned by Sung-Yun and Hiuan-Tsang (Beal, i, p. lxxxvii, and ii, p. 309).

³ *zlos-chos*.

⁴ *mī-gcig-gis-gcig-sbran-te*.

⁵ *hdabs* (*hdab-sa*?).

⁶ Read *Hdon-hdros-kyis-bsus-nas*?

great fault: pray let me receive pardon, that it be not an evil for me." The other then asked pardon of his junior, and, joining hands, they entered the monastery and did worship. The Devas and Nāgas performed the *No-le*, and in approval of the building of the monastery [the king] presented gifts; he gave them in reparation for ¹ having interfered with ² the building of the monastery.

On the spot where the brothers who previously did not meet asked pardon a monastery called *Hjah-mo-ka-ka-roṇ* was built. Thus first in the Li country arose through the Paṇḍit Ārya Samantasiddhi the sect of the Sarvāstivāda,³ of the Hīna-yāna. The protection of the monastery was undertaken by the god Kapila in person; and down to the present day constantly every year,⁴ at noon on the seventh and eighth days of the autumn month, a religious drama, *No-le*, of the Tathāgata's arduous acts is performed; and, all the people of the country being regularly there to hear the religion, this monastery also is made potent and of great blessing.⁵

¹ *rkyen-res-bkum-ste*: *rkyen* means "cause" or "property" (*infra*, Pt. II, pp. 78, 148); *bkum* means ordinarily "kill". But, since a killing is extremely unlikely on such a Buddhist occasion, the above translation with *bkum* in another sense of "executing" (sc. a task, as *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 42, 79) is far more probable than "gave the property of those who had interfered . . . , executing them in return". Or *rkyen-ris* = "estate"?

² *nan-rogs-bgyis-te*.

³ *Sarbā-ti-bā-da*. It is interesting that the Sarvāstivāda sect, which in Chinese Turkestan generally preceded the Mahā-yāna and was widespread, as we may see e.g. from Hiuan-Tsang's memoirs, should have appeared relatively late in Khotan. The predominance of the Mahā-yāna itself, so abundantly illustrated in these pages (e.g. pp. 9, 30, 91), was, of course, not original, and even the Māhāsāṃghika sect, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 114), was not the first. The "Āryas" who first settled on the Góśrīga hill (*supra*, pp. 8, 27) will have been members of some early sect, coming from Takṣaśilā or Kāśmīr.

⁴ *lo-gcig-cin-yan*.

⁵ Probably this was the (Sarvāstivāda) monastery wherein Hiuan-Tsang was lodged (Beal, *Life of Hiuan-Tsang*, p. 205). It is perhaps that which Fa-hian (Beal, i, p. xxvii) calls "the Royal-new temple". If so, it was about "seven or eight *li* to the west of the city", where in any case we are disposed to place the district Saṅ-tir, in which it lay. The name *Hjah-mo-ka-ka-roṇ* is not at present explicable (*ka-ka* = *ga-ga*, "prince"?).

Vijaya-Simha: the Sum-ña monastery and stūpa

After that, during the reign of king Vijaya-Dharmā's son, king Vijaya-Simha, the king of the Ga-hjag¹ led an army into the Li country, and king Vijaya-Simha defeated the Ga-hjag in battle. The Ga-hjag king himself, having been taken in a noose by the Li ruler and ordered to be killed, begged for release, whereupon king Vijaya-Simha said, 436b "King, if I do not kill you, but grant you release, then, when you have become an Arhat, come back and be my Pious Friend," and so set him free. He also gave him the name Ānandasena and sent him back to Śu-leg.² Subsequently the monk Ānandasena became an Arhat, and, in accordance with his original pledge to the Li ruler, soared into the sky and came to the Li country in order to be Pious Friend to king Vijaya-Simha, who, out of compassion for him and inspired with faith, built for the Ārya, the Arhat Ānandasena, the Sum-ña monastery and stūpa. As tutelaries of the monastery, Vaiśravaṇa and the Deva Kapila took up their abode; and this monastery also was potent and of great blessing.³

Vijaya-Kīrti: the Phru-ño monastery: Sum-dpon

Afterwards king Vijaya-Kīrti, having for Pious Friend the Arhat Sya-pri,⁴ an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, who was spreading the religion in Kam-śed(ñ?), becoming inspired with

¹ The people of Kashgar. The date is uncertain. We hear of wars between Kashgar and Khotan in A.D. 58-73: see Abel-Rémusat, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16; Chavannes, *T'oung pao*, 1907, pp. 156 sqq.

² i.e. Śu-lig = Kashgar.

³ On this Sum-ña monastery, the So-ma-ña of the document given *infra*, Pt. II, p. 183, and the Sa-mo-joh of Hsuan-Tsang, "5 or 6 li to the west of the royal city" (Beal, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 316-18, where, however, the legend is different and perhaps belongs to another shrine), see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194 n., 223-5.

⁴ It has been suggested (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 269) that Sya-pri means Dharmavardhana.

faith, built the monastery of Phru-ño.¹ Originally king Kanika and the king of Gu-zan and the Li ruler, king Vijaya-Kīrti, and others led an army into India and captured a city named So-keḍ, on which occasion king Vijaya-Kīrti obtained many *sārīras*, which he deposited within that *stūpa* of Phru-ño.² At the time of putting in the site-fixing peg of juniper king Vijaya-Kīrti was thus addressed by his Pious Friend, the Ārya Sya-pri: "To this peg if the king set his hand from below upwards five times, there will be a portent."³ The king having set his hand five times to the site-fixing peg of juniper, upon that peg there forthwith on that day grew five juniper branches, a full cubit⁴ in length; and later, when before the juniper the Bandes recited the Dharmā, there came 437a from the juniper a sound of a voice expounding the religion. Subsequently, when the young Bandes, with their Dharmās in their hands,⁵ were hearing the religion, a similarly expounding voice came forth. At last, when a Bande recited the Dharmā wrongly, a Deva pronounced, "It is not so"; and, he being

¹ On this monastery see pp. 53, 77, n. 3, and the document given *infra*, Pt. II, p. 183. It was here that Saṃghavardhana was said to have resided. The tutelary deities were the Devas Sujaya and Siṃhamukha and the Nāga Sum-pon. We have the impression that the monastery was itself in Kaśēd, the eastern region, where Dharmavardhana had been working: if so, it may well be the place "to the south-east of the capital about 200 li" concerning which Hsuan-Tsang (Beal, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 319-22) tells a somewhat similar story of a failure of a stream: the fact that Hsuan-Tsang speaks of a "great river" instead of a "little stream" may not be an insurmountable objection. See Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 462-3.

² In this frequently discussed passage (see Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 240 and n. 2; F. W. Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxii, 1903, p. 349; S. Konow, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II)*, pp. lxxii and lxxv) there is no difficulty in understanding *Ka-ni-kāhi-rgyal-po* as *Ka-ni-kar-gyal-po* "King Kanika", since analogies could be cited. Gu-zan would be Guchen; see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 282 sqq. So-keḍ is certainly Śāketa or Ayodhyā; and the episode of the three kings reminds us further of the legend of the invasion of Kauśāmbi by the Śakas, Pahlavas, and Yavanas, concerning which see *supra*, pp. 45-6. The date of this Vijaya-Kīrti is unknown.

³ *shon-rlags* = *mñon* = *nimitta*.

⁴ *khru-gan*.

⁵ *dha-rmā-thogs-te*: Probably a book is meant.

offended,¹ from that time forward the religion-expounding voice came not forth.

Afterwards, when water was not supplied to this monastery, as stipulated,² the monastery was nearly ruined. In order that the monastery might not fall into decay, a monk named the reverend Sum-dpon, who was near to Arhatship, prayed that by virtue of that store of merit leading to Arhatship he might be born as a Nāga. Immediately from his body came water; and without losing the form of a man he became the Nāga of a little river and sank below the site. Down to the present day the monastery has drawn water from the little stream. Down to the present day this monastery also is potent and of great blessing. Its protection was undertaken by the Deva Sujaya and his attendant³ Simhamukha and Sum-pon (*sic*), the Nāga of the little stream.⁴

Vijaya-Saṅgrāma : the Dharmākīrti-sa monastery and stūpa

Then subsequently came king Vijaya-Kīrti's son, named Vijaya-Saṅgrāma, a man of prowess and great heroism. In ventures against many enemies of Li he slew a multitude of beings. After that there came a man-slaying lion, and even an army sent [against it] recoiled; but the king encountered the lion single-handed and killed it, and thence obtained for himself the name "Lion". While engaged in chasing wild animals, that king encamped for the night⁵ in a wood
 4376 on the bank of the little stream. During the night he perceived within the wood at a distance⁶ something like a lamp⁷:

¹ *gñan-nas* (?).

² *chad-kyis-htshal-te*: or "by way of punishment"?

³ *phyag-brñan*.

⁴ This story of the Nāga Sum-pon has some resemblance to that of the self-devoting minister related by Hiuan-Tsang (Beal, op. cit., ii, pp. 319-22); see *supra*, p. 119, n. 1.

⁵ *rgons-btab-pa*: cf. *supra*, p. 98, n. 3.

⁶ *rgyan-nas-bdas-nas*.

⁷ *zugs-mar*: cf. *infra*, Pt. II, p. 111. The more usual *mar-me*, which likewise means "oil-fire", has the constituent members of the compound in the reverse order.

upon closer inspection he saw that the light came from a monk,¹ the Ārya Arhat Jñānayaśo, who was abiding there. Filled with faith, he did worship and inquired, "Ārya, what do you here?" The Arhat Jñānayaśo said: "This spot was blessed by former Tathāgatas. The king should build here a monastery."

Inspired with faith in the Ārya, the king subsequently, in obedience to his directions, made confession of his sins. After driving in the peg which fixed the site of the monastery he took upon his head a golden bowl and offered a prayer: "If this monastery which I am to build is to be lasting in time and permanent, by the blessing of the Āryas existing in the ten directions let there be granted in this bowl of mine relics of the Tathāgata." From the sky a quantity of *sārīras* came into the bowl; and the king, inspired more than ever with faith, built for his Pious Friend Yaśo the monastery Dharmākīrti-sa² [and] a great *stūpa*; and therein he deposited many *sārīras*. So this monastery also was potent and of great blessing; and its protection was undertaken by Vaiśravaṇa and the Deva Kapila.

Vijaya-Saṅgrāma and the Drug-gu: the Hgu-šan-ta monastery

Then from the time when king Vijaya-Dharmā held the sovereignty until Vijaya-Kīrti became king, during fourteen generations of kings, sometimes external enemies led armies into the country and inflicted damage, and sometimes the Li rulers led armies into other countries and troubled their people. After that the Drug-gu 'A-no-śos led an army into the Li country, and, burning with fire the monasteries generally as far as Hgehu-to-šan, ruined the country.³ The 438a

¹ i.e. from the monk's person: he shone.

² The name "Religion-fame" (p. 318, n. 6?) alludes to the monk's name, "Knowledge-glory" (cf. *infra*, p. 255, and Nanjio, *Tripitaka*, p. 431?).

³ This invasion by the Drug-gu king 'A-no-śos, or 'A-no-mo-śon, seems to be the invasion by the Tu-yu[k]-hun related by the Chinese (see Abel-Rémusat, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 21; Chavannes, *Voyage de Song Yun*, p. 16 n.; Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, i, p. 333) and attributed to the year A.D. 445. But in A.D. 466-70 there was a Juan-Juan invasion (Stein, *A. Khotan*, p. 170).

diminished population was not capable of rebuilding the monasteries.

Afterwards king Vijaya-Kirti's son, king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma, became king at seven years of age. Later he inquired of the seniors in the Saṃghas and his councillors, "How came the fire? By whom was the country ruined? Why was it burned¹?" The Saṃghas and councillors having given a detailed account of how the Drug-gu 'A-no-mo-ṣoṇ (*sic*) and others had formerly ruined the country, king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma ordered the councillors to assemble whatever army corps there were; and, having led his army into the countries of the kings who had previously done harm and ruined his country, ruined their country in return,² slaughtering most of the people.

On his return he found himself on the bank of the western river³; and there he beheld seven monks bathing in the water and indulging in various games. He remarked that it was not usual with monks. Forthwith the seven monks soared into the air and exhibited to the king miracles of sixteen kinds. In the king's mind arose the thought, "First I deprived of life many beings and slew them; and now I have sinned greatly in misjudging these Āryas." He was filled with regret; and, having seen the Āryas exhibit various miracles, he increased in faith, and, approaching where the Āryas were, he did worship to them and, having made confession, asked for pardon. For the seven Āryas, the Arhats Po-ñe Na-re-ta and the rest, he built the Hgu-gzan monastery: the Āryas, the seven Arhats, having blessed the site, gave to the monastery the name "Place of
438b Tranquillity", Hgu-zan-ta.⁴ This monastery also was

¹ *cibi-slād-du-mis*: the reading seems imperfect.

² *lan-glan-nas*.

³ *śel-chab-hog-ma*: cf. pp. 57, n. 9, 100, n. 4, and Index.

⁴ An etymology (Sk. *śānta*) is understood. The monastery, which under the name *Gu-zan-do* is mentioned in a document given *infra* (Pt. II, p. 183), seems to contain the name *Gu-zan*, on which see p. 119, n. 2.

potent and of great blessing: it was protected by the Deva Jinariśabha¹ and Mañibhadra.

Vijaya-Simha: the Bṛāḥ-ser-ma monastery

Afterwards king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma's son, king Vijaya-Simha, became king. He besought his Pious Friend, the Arhat Dharmāpala (*sic*), "Ārya, pray exhibit to me the miraculous powers² which you possess." Through the miraculous power of the Ārya king Vijaya-Simha was conveyed to Dgaḥ-Idan³ and shown the abode of Ārya Maitreya and his person. Upon his return king Vijaya-Simha built the monastery Bṛāḥ-ser-ma and made an image of Maitreya and his retinue, as they were in Dgaḥ-Idan. Afterwards, in order to do worship to Maitreya, he inquired what was the fashion of the Lord⁴ and the Deva Klu-gśegs⁵; and, having built a shrine for the Lord, he made images of the Lord and the Deva Klu-[gśegs], and they are still there. That this monastery also might be potent and of great blessing, the Devas Gaṅs-can⁶ and Hbrog-gnas⁷ protected it; and down to the present day manifestations and signs occur.

Vijaya-Saṅgrāma: the Bṛāḥ-saṅ-gre-re-ma monastery

Afterwards during six generations from king Vijaya no other monasteries were built. After that again, during the reign of king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma, son of king Vijaya-Bala, an image of Choḥu-pa-na⁸ came soaring through the sky from Cu-gu-pan⁹ to the Li country; seeing which, the king, strengthened in his faith, built a *gandha-kutī*, containing a Buddha.

¹ i.e. Jinariśabha, mentioned *supra*, p. 113, n. 8.

² *rāzu-ḥphrul*.

³ The heaven of Maitreya.

⁴ Is this Buddha or Avalokiteśvara or Maitreya?

⁵ Nāgagati?

⁶ Himavat?

⁷ "Nomad-place" = *Jaṅgala*? Cf. *Padma-thun-yig*, ii, 32a 2, etc.

⁸ This seems to be the image Cu-gon-pan named in the *Gośrīṅga-vyākaraṇa*, *supra*, p. 25: see also *infra*, p. 133, n. 6.

⁹ On Cu-gu-pan, Cu-go-pa, Ca-ko-ka, etc., see *supra*, p. 25, n. 6.

Subsequently this king, being on one occasion in the gate-house of the northern gate, high above the city of Hu-then, looked and saw outside the city a monk making obeisance to a householder in white¹ and conversing with him. Regarding it as a marvel, the king instructed a councillor and sent him to examine carefully into the matter. The councillor questioning the monk and the white person separately, the monk said, "This white householder is an apparition of Mañjuśrī"; and the white householder said, "This monk is an apparition of Ārya Kṣitigarbha."² The councillor reported to the king accordingly; and king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma forthwith repaired to the presence of those Āryas and saluted them and did worship, asking, "Āryas, whence come you?" The two Āryas made answer, "We two have come hither from the east, from the Buddha-realm of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya,³ for the good of living beings." Thereupon king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma besought them, "O Āryas, compassionate and both of great miraculous power, pray show me the Buddha-realm of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya." Consenting, they showed him the person⁴ of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya and his Buddha-realm: having seen many Buddhas alight from their cars in the sky and emit lights which touched the king's head, the king was strengthened in faith; and, having made images like the Buddha-figures which he had seen, he conducted them in cars along the north street and made a great worshipping.

Down to the present day, at the beginning of the waxing half of the first spring month, they conduct great images along the north street, and, inviting both Saṃghas,⁵ hold in the "Enlightenment-origin-auspicious-cool"⁶ grove a great festival of worship. Having made also a great celebration of

¹ *Skya-bo*: A monk would be in yellow-brown.

² *Saḥi-sñin-po*.

³ *Mi-hkhrugs-pa*.

⁴ *zal* "face".

⁵ *So*, male and female.

⁶ A Sanskrit equivalent of this might be *Bodhi-saṃbhava(utpatti)-maṅgala-śīta-vana*. On the car-festivals see *supra*, p. 26, n. 1.

worship, *mo-hya-re*,¹ the king built for his Pious Friend, the Ārya Arhat Mo-rgu-de-śi² 'A-ba-ya-rdad, the monastery 439b Bžah-saṅ-gre-re-ma,³ protected by Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjñin.

Vijaya-Kīrti : the Bha-va-ña monastery

After that, from king Vijaya-Sātra, during four generations of kings no other new monasteries were built. Afterwards a king Vijaya-Kīrti being in Hgum-tir and on the spot where now stands the Bha-va-ña monastery, a Nāga king appeared there and said to king Vijaya-Kīrti : "Formerly, in the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, this site was blessed : it is a place for building a monastery. Therefore it is right that you, O king, should now build a monastery." The king uttered a prayer, "If the Āryas now in Jambū-dvīpa be pleased to come here to give blessing, I desire to build a monastery." So he prayed ; and forthwith there came from the sky seventeen Ārya Arhats. King Vijaya-Kīrti was greatly strengthened in faith, and the king and his queen built, with a cloister for fore-court,⁴ the monastery of Bha-va-ña. This monastery also was potent and of great blessing : it was protected by the Deva Aparājita and Mañibhadra. This monastery was built at the time when the Li country, being attached to the old Tibetan dominions,⁵ was governed by the Hgar councillor Btsan-ñin Guñ-ston.⁶

¹ Etymology unknown.

² On this title see *supra*, p. 110.

³ Perhaps meaning "Vijaya-Saṅgrāma monastery (*re-ma*)".

⁴ For *lag-nar* the dictionary *Tshe-rin-dban-rgyal* gives the Sanskrit equivalent *prakṣṭha*.

⁵ *gnaḥ-Bod-kyi-mnaḥ-ris-u-gtogs-paḥi-tshe*.

⁶ The site of this (?) monastery, mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang (Beal, op. cit., ii, p. 313), under the name *T'i-kia-p'o-fo-na* and as situated about 10 *li* to the south-west of the city, has been located by Sir A. Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 225) at Bowa-Kambar, which perhaps in the syllables *Bowa* retains its name. It will be observed that the place was in the district Hgum-tir.

The Hgar minister Btsan-ñin Guñ-ston (Hgar being a clan name, on which see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 55) was not the celebrated minister of the Tibetan king roṅ-btsan Sgam-po (c. A.D. 600-650), as suggested by Sarat Candra Das,

The Amacha Khe-meg : the Ma-na-hdi monastery

Then after that, king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma and his son Vijaya-Saṅgrāma the Younger,¹ having gone to China, on their way back, before they reached the Li country, the road was blocked by a Dru-gu army,² and the father died in China. While the son, a young boy, was unable to return, a Li councillor named 'A-ma-cha³ Khe-meg acted during twelve years as regent. For the monk Ārya Dun-tsa, who
 440a was his Pious Friend in assuming the government, he built the *stūpa* and monastery Ma-na-hdi; and he procured for it many *sārīras*, relics of Tathāgatas. At present this monastery is protected by Ākāśacakṣus and Saṃjñin, generalissimo of the Yakṣas.

Vijaya-Vikrama : the Byi-ža-gra-ma monastery

Then king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma's son, by name king Vijaya-Vikrama, having returned to the Li country, built for his Pious Friend, the Ārya Arhat Devendra-chen, the monastery Byi-ža-gra-ma.⁴ At present it is protected by the Devas Aparājita and Maṇibhadra.

Vijaya-Dharmā and Ser-the-śi : the Maitri monastery

Then after that the Chinese councillor Ser-the-śi and king Vijaya-Dharmā built for their common Pious Friend,

op. cit., pp. 198-9, n.: I am not aware that the personal name of that Hgar (or Mgar) is known: moreover, during his time Khotan was certainly not under the Tibetans. More probably, if not certainly, it would be the Hgar minister Btsan-ñen Guñ-rton mentioned in a Tibetan chronicle (see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 1, ll. 66-8 of the chronicle) as having been put to death in year 23 = c. A.D. 695-6, during the reign of Khri-Hdus-sroñ. But, since the monastery seen by Hiuan-Tsang existed in the year A.D. 645, the statement in the text relates, perhaps, to a different one.

¹ *spad.* This king is named *infra* Vijaya-Vikrama.

² This incident seems to be identical with that related from Chinese sources by Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Occidentaux* (p. 127), and Abel-Rémusat (p. 69) concerning the kings Fu-tu-Hiong and his son King (c. A.D. 674-). On the Dru-gu or Drug-gu see Index.

³ On this title (= Sanskrit *amātya*) see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 191.

⁴ Perhaps meaning Vijaya-[Vi]krama (= *Kuei* of pp. 162-3 ?).

Par-mog Hdzin-sen of Hgum-tir,¹ the monastery of Byams-pa Maitri, of the eastern (part of the) city.² At present this monastery is protected by Vaiśravaṇa.

Vijaya-Sambhava and Ka-the-śi : the Khe-gan-tsa monastery

Then after that the king's councillor Ka-the-śi and king Vijaya-Sambhava built for their two common Pious Friends 'U-dren-dra-rod-ci and Dharmānanta the monastery Khe-gan-tsa. At present this monastery is protected by Vaiśravaṇa.³

Vijaya-Bohan-chen-po and Hba-la-śi : the Su-stoñ-ña monastery

Originally, when the monk Ārya Vairocana came to the wood of Tsar-ma and was seen by common people, herdsmen, and so forth, who reported to king Vijaya-Sambhava, "There has appeared in the wood of Tsar-ma a man such as we have not seen before,"⁴ king Vijaya-Sambhava forthwith repaired to Tsar-ma and beheld Ārya Vairocana : being inspired with faith, he saluted him and did worship to him. The Ārya became Pious Friend to king Vijaya-Sambhava and showed him the fruit of both good and evil : he expounded the religion and made him confess and be absolved. The king on his part, having the eye of religion opened, became further 440b confirmed in faith. Returning to the fort, he built on the spot where he had first received the pleasant tidings of Ārya Vairocana's coming a great *stūpa*, to which was given the

¹ As previously suggested (*Asia Major*, ii, pp. 263-4), this is doubtless "Jinasena of Parmog, in Hgum-tir". The surname *Par-mog* is found in a Tibetan document edited in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains* . . . , p. 403. If *-mog* could mean *spoñ-byed* (but perhaps it is only a shortening of *-mo-ga*), the place would be the monastery *Par-spoñ-byed*, on which see *supra*, pp. 7, 15, and n. 4.

² *goñ-mkhar-gyi*.

³ This monastery is mentioned in a document from Chinese Turkestan under the name *Kehu-hgan-tshe* (*infra*, Pt. II, p. 183 n.). From some source (*Rgya-Bod-yig-tshan* ?) Śarat Candra Das gives a Chinese form *Hi-kwan-tsa*.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 18 sqq. This part of the story is, however, in closer agreement with what is related by Sung-Yun and Hsuan-Tsang (Beal, *op. cit.*, i, pp. lxxxvii-viii; ii, p. 312).

name Su-stoñ-ña. The *stūpa* having subsequently decayed through length of time, afterwards king Vijaya-Bohan-chen-po¹ and the monk H̄ba-la-si, who had come from China, invited the Tsar-ma Saṃgha to be their Pious Friends ; and they built the Su-stoñ-ña monastery. At present it is protected by Vairocana.

Nunneries : Nu-bo-ña (Vijaya-Simha)

As to the reckoning of the monasteries of nuns and their order of earlier and later² :—

A certain king, Vijaya-Simha, having succeeded to the sovereignty while a child, during the period of his childhood certain councillors acted contumeliously, ill-treating the queen and palace retinue and doing with the female inmates what was not right. Afterwards the king, when he grew up, remembered the reports³ of the former contumelious conduct of those councillors and bore a grudge against them. Afterwards that king found means to entrap those councillors like fleeing animals ; and in a district named Ba-ro-zya, [on] the eastern⁴ river of H̄u-then, he slew seventy-five of them. Subsequently he also built a monastery there. Having returned to the fort, he cut off access from the place where the king was to the apartments of the queen and retinue and female attendants, by contriving an outer door.

Thus condemned to die, the king's queen, with her attendants, was starving : in their extremity they called upon the names of the Buddhas and Bodhi-sattvas of the ten directions and enacted worship, circumambulating the temple and reading the Dharmā. Through the force of the great merit so acquired the Ārya Arhats Na-ya-śa-tra-jñā, Sthya-śu-ta, Soñ-ha-na-ta-la and others came soaring through
441a the sky, and, appearing before the queens Ma(Mog)-śa-ko-śa and Sa-luc and the other attendants, expounded the religion

¹ On this king see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 187-8.

² Here the chronology commences again. The expression *gtan-tshigs*, "reckoning," usually means "logic".

³ *bsñad-pa*.

⁴ *goñ-ma*, "upper."

to those queens. Renouncing the world,¹ straightway through the power of faith one hundred and twelve of the entourage of those queens became Arhats, and, soaring through the sky, went to beg alms. They were seen by king Vijaya-Simha, who straightway went to the place : in his sight the queens Mog-śa-ko-śa and Sa-luc and all the other attendants who had renounced the world and become for the most part Arhats displayed various miracles ; seeing which, the king also was greatly pleased ; and through the strength of faith he built on that very spot a monastery, bestowing servants, wealth, cattle, and other appurtenances of worship in great quantity. To that monastery was attached the name *Nu-bo-ñā*.² The monastery also is potent and of great blessing : at present it is protected by the Deva Kilahasta.³

Nunneries : Yo-zo-hjo (Hdon-hdros)

Then afterwards, king Hdon-hdros⁴ having for consort a daughter of the king of China, by name Śo-rgya, her elder sister, the nun Śoḥi-dzaya, who had become an Arhat, came from China to Hu-then to be Pious Friend to the younger sister Śo-rgya ; and for her the younger sister, queen Śo-rgya, built the monastery Yo-zo-hjo. At present it is protected by the two Nāga kings, Nā-ci and Nā-ra.

Nunneries : Zer-ro-hjo (Vijaya-Śata)

Then afterwards the younger brother of king Vijaya-Śata, the 'A-ma-ca (*sic*) Za-ro, who had a wife named Su-ha-tsho-ha, died. The king wrote to the lady, "For you not to meet me is not right." The lady wrote a request : "Since during some seven nights I must make the seven [days' mourning] for my husband,⁵ pray allow me not to come out." The king on his part agreed ; and forthwith the lady 441b

¹ *rab-tu-byun-ba-las* = *pravrajya*.

² = *Ywattī-bhavana* ? *Mahīṣī-bhavana* ? *Kumārī-bhavana* ?

³ *Phur-paḥi-lag*.

⁴ On Hdon-hdros see *supra*, pp. 112, 114-17.

⁵ *khyim-thab-kyi-bdun* : A technical term or a mistake in the text ?

secluded herself. Having renounced the world, she spent seven nights in meditative trance, with concentration of mind upon the Remembrance of Buddha¹: she saw revealed the person² of Buddha and became an Arhat with the name Buddha-nan. The seven nights having passed, the king ordered some one to summon the lady: the man replied, "The lady has renounced the world and has become an Ārya Arhat; and now she has a halo." The king going there, the halo appeared on the Arhat. Having seen also various miracles which she displayed, he acquired faith; accordingly he built for the Ārya the monastery Zer-ro-hjo,³ and it was potent and of great blessing. At present it is protected by the Deva Nandeśvara.⁴

Nunneries: Po-yen-to (Vijaya-Nanta)

Then after that a king named Vijaya-Nanta had an only daughter who was consort of a king of Nam,⁵ by name Hu-mar. She, having renounced the world and become an Arhat, in a vision bethought herself, "I am daughter of Vijaya-Mata (Nanta), king of Li"; whereupon that Ārya Dharmābala (*sic*), with twenty Ārya nuns, soared into the air from Śu-leg,⁶ and, coming to the Li country, related to the king, her father, her previous history, and displayed miracles of various kinds. The king, inspired with faith, built for his daughter, the Ārya Arhat Dharmābala, the monastery Po-yen-to.⁷ At present it is protected by Vaiśravaṇa and the Nāga king Hulor.

Nunneries: Dro-mo-hdza (Vijaya-Saṅgrāma)

Then after that queen Dharmā, mother of king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma, surnamed "Lion",⁸ renounced the world and

¹ *Buddha-anusmṛti-samādhi*.

² *zai* "face".

³ Apparently named after the lady's husband, Za-ro.

⁴ *Dgaḥ-baḥi-dban-phyug*, referring to the name Buddha-nan.

⁵ On the country Nam see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 261; *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 630-4: perhaps it was the Nan-hu of Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, ii, pp. 617 sqq. On a Khotan princess queen of *Tun-huang* see Pelliot, *BÉFE-O*, viii, p. 504.

⁶ Kashgar: how the nun came to be in Kashgar we are not told.

⁷ The syllables *po-yen* occurred *supra*, p. 98, in *Kus-po-yen*.

⁸ On this king "Lion" see *supra*, p. 120.

obtained the fruit of Arhatship. She was in a hut, engaged in meditation. She was doing this in the night time, when the king, having shot an arrow in order to pierce a mark, sent to seek the arrow inside : there the king's mother Dharmā was seen sitting. The king was inspired with faith ; and for his mother, the Ārya Arhat Dharmā, the king built the monastery Dro-mo-hdzā.¹ At present it is protected by the Deva Kapila.

Nunneries : Ta-ke-jo (Bre-sa-ya Stū-lag)

Then king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma's younger brother, named Bre-sa-ya Stū-lag, whose consort Dru-gu-mo² had renounced the world and had received the name 'A-zu-ka-su-ma, was inspired with faith and built for the Arhat the monastery Ta-ke-hjo. At present it is protected by Saṃjñin, generalissimo of the Yakṣas.

Nunneries : Ho-roṇ-jo (Hu-rod-ga)

Then king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma, builder of the Hgu-g^hzan monastery,³ had by his consort Hu-rod⁴-ga, daughter of king Phrom Ge-sar,⁵ two daughters who renounced the world and became Arhats. Of these two Āryas one was named Śi-la-ma-ta : the other's name was Go-hu-śa-ra. The two Āryas, soaring through the sky from Kāśmīr, came to be Pious Friends to their mother, queen Hu-rod. For those two Arhats the queen built the monastery Ho-roṇ-hjo.⁶ At present it is protected by the Nāga kings Hulor and Gold-hair.⁷

¹ Apparently named after Dharmā, with *h*dzā = *dzu-ya*, p. 132, n. 1.

² Perhaps a Dru-gu lady.

³ See *supra*, p. 122.

⁴ Or *roṇ* ?

⁵ I.e. "Ge-sar of Phrom or Khrom". The kingdom (Khrom) of the legendary Ge-sar is traditionally placed to the north of Chinese Turkestan. It seems here to be a reality. The matter is, however, unsuitable for discussion in a note : see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 287-291.

⁶ Named after the queen Hu-rod(ā).

⁷ *Gser-gyi-skra*, cf. p. 134, n. 4 : *Svarṇakeśa* or *Suvarṇakeśa* is named in the *Mahāvīryūtpatti*, 168, 13. On Hulor see *supra*, p. 107 and n. 1.

Nunneries: Po-blo-na-jo (Bi-śa-dza-ya)

Then king Vijaya-Kīrti's daughter, Bi-śa-dza-ya,¹ built for her elder sister, the Arhat Bi-te-śe-ci, the monastery Po-blo-na-jo. At present it is protected by Saṃjñin, generalissimo of the Yakṣas.

Nunneries: 'Er-mo-no (Bi-śa-phra-ba)

Then king Vijaya-Hḍza(Hje ?)-la's daughter, Bi-śa-phra-ba,² who was in the court of the queen of Gu-zin,³ built for her daughter, the nun Ārya Arhat Vijaya, the monastery 'Er-mo-no. At present it is protected by Kapila.

Nunneries: Kho-mo-no-no (Vijaya-Pala)

Then a king named Vijaya-Pala, repenting of having earlier and later killed many living beings, performed many deeds of merit and even gave up his wife, who became an Ārya Arhat: for her, being inspired with faith, he built the monastery Kho-mo-no-no. At present it is protected by Vaiśravaṇa.

Nunneries: Gus-sde-re-ma (Amaca Khe-meg)

Then a councillor of the Li king, by name 'A-ma-ca Ge-meg,⁴ killed his three elder brothers in one day: his mother also being in *nirvāṇa*,⁵ the 'A-ma-ca Kha-meg⁴ on that same spot⁶ (or day ?) built the monastery Gus-sde-re-ma. At present it is protected by the Deva Ākāśacakṣus and Saṃjñin, generalissimo of the Yakṣas.

Nunneries: 'O-ka-no (Vijaya-Jaya)

Then a king named Vijaya-Jaya having taken as consort a daughter of the king of 'O-sku,⁷ the queen built

¹ Since the syllables *dza-ya* occur in other female names and perhaps mean "princess" or "lady", this name will mean "the Vijaya Princess".

² In this name Bi-śa is perhaps an equivalent of Vijaya.

³ Perhaps the same as Gu-zan (pp. 119, n. 2, 254 and Pt. II, p. 282).

⁴ = Amaca Khe-meg, mentioned *supra*, p. 126.

⁵ *thar-par-zugs-nas* "who had been released". ⁶ *de-ñid-du* ?

⁷ As suggested previously (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 280), this may be Och, the *Hecyuka* of the texts edited by Professor Lüders (*SPAW*, 1922, pp. 258-9; 1930, p. 7: cf. Professor Pelliot's discussion in *T'oung pao*, xxii, pp. 130 sqq.).

for her Pious Friend, the Ārya Arhat Gze-ma, the monastery 'O-ka-no.¹ At present it is protected by the Deva Yo.

Nunneries: Gus-kyi-'or-myoñ-nag (Vijaya-Saṅgrāma)

Then king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma, having built the monastery Gus-kyi-'or-myoñ-nag, many of his female retinue attained *nirvāṇa*.² At present [the monastery] is protected by king Ku-na's protectors,³ the two Devīs Svarnapuṣpa (°kusuma ?)⁴ and Duñ-can.

Nunneries: Gcoḥu-na (Vijaya-La)

Then king Vijaya-La, having taken for consort Śu-to-ka, daughter of the king of Bcu-gun-pan,⁵ built for her elder sister, the nun Arhat 'A-śo-ko-śi-la, the monastery Gcoḥu-na.⁶ At present it is protected by the Deva 'A-ba-lha and the Deva Hjim-bha-keḥu-ta-na.

Nunneries: Khye-śo-na ('A-lyo-hjah)

Then king Vijaya-Simpha's consort, 'A-lyo-hjah, queen of the Ga-hjah,⁷ having for Pious Friend the nun Ārya Arhat Bduṅ-gslegs from Śu-lig, for her sake king Vijaya-Simpha 443a built the monastery Khye-śo-na. At present it is protected by the Deva Kapila.

Nunneries: Na-mo-hbu-gdoñ (Vijaya-Saṅgrāma and Na-mo-bod)

During the reign of king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma⁸ there came soaring through the air from Kāśmīr the two nuns, the Ārya

¹ Evidently named after the country, O-sku.

² *thar-par-skyes*.

³ *Ku-nañi-sruñ-ma*: an obscure phrase.

⁴ *Gser-gyi-me-log*.

⁵ = Cu-gun-pan, concerning which see *supra*, p. 25, n. 6. The king here named Vijaya-La seems to be the Vijaya-Bala of p. 123 *supra*.

⁶ The name of the monastery (= Co-ña, p. 57, n. 12 ?) is probably connected with that of Cu-gon-pan: see *supra*, p. 123, n. 8.

⁷ *Ga-hjah*, the people of Kashgar, as *supra*, p. 118.

⁸ This is evidently the Vijaya-Saṅgrāma mentioned *supra*, p. 131, in connection with Śi-la-ma-ta and Gohu-śa-ra. The differences in the latter two names point to independent traditions in the monasteries whence the information was procured.

Arhats Śi-la-ha and Hgehu-śu-su-ya. Subsequently, taking up a position before the house of a householder named Na-mo-bod-gyi (*sic*), they said to king Vijaya-Saṅgrāma: "Great king, this is a site.¹ Formerly, when the Buddha Śākya-muni, during the time of his career as a Bodhi-sattva, became the Bodhi-sattva Sa-śeṇ,² he gave his two children, son and daughter,³ to a Brāhman. This being the spot where he wrought an uniquely difficult deed, it is right to build here a monastery." The householder Na-mo-bod, being inspired with faith, made a donation of house and land; and the king, on his part, built a monastery. After the name of the donor the monastery received the name Na-mo-hbu-gdoñ. At present it is protected by the Nāga king Hulor and the Deva Gold-hair (Svarṇakeśa).⁴

Nunneries : Hdaḥ-no-yo-no (Hdaḥ-no-ya)

Then a certain councillor of a king of Li, by name Hdaḥ-no-ya, having made in the market-place Par-ma a great image, subsequently a councillor of Li, 'A-ma-ca⁵ Bi-dad, repaired some parts⁶ of the great image which had decayed. For the nuns of Koñ-sed⁷ he built the monastery Hdaḥ-no-yo-no. At present it is protected by Vaiśravaṇa.

Statistics of Religious Foundations

Now to compute the great monasteries in Hu-then occupied by the Saṃghas of both sexes :—

443b Inside the fort⁸ and outside there are 68. To be classed as medium monasteries are 95. To be classed as small

¹ *hog-sa* = *tīrtha*.

² This should be the Bodhi-sattva Viśvantara, Vessantara; but the name *Sa-śeṇ* might represent another designation, e.g. Sudhana: see S. Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, ix, xv (1900), pp. 324-6.

³ *min-sriñ*.

⁴ *Gser-gyi-sgra* (p. 131, n. 7). On Hulor see *supra*, p. 107.

⁵ On *Amaca* see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 191.

⁶ *lla-žig*.

⁷ On Koñ-sed(ñ) see *supra*, p. 102, n. 3.

⁸ *sku-mkhar*.

monasteries are 148. Of minor chapels for particular worship¹ and temples without donors and *stūpas* there are inside the fort and outside to the limit of the parish² 3,688. In *Hu-then* the *Samghas* (sc. monks and nuns), those with private means,³ were, upon computation made in the Mouse year,⁴ about one myriad.

In the region of *Mdo-lo* and *Me-skar* the great monasteries are some four; the particular temples and minor temples without donors are rather over 100; the *Samghas* about 20.

In *Kam-sed(n?)*⁵ and *Pha-ña*⁶ and *Be-rka-hdra*⁷ and from 'O-sku⁸ to *Ji-la*⁹ there are, inside the fort(s?) and outside to the parish limits, great monasteries 23; medium monasteries 21; minor monasteries about 23; minor temples for particular worship and minor *stūpas* about¹⁰ 839. From the *Samghas* of both sexes, down to tenants¹¹ and door-people,¹² about 438.

From *Gyl-kyan*¹³ to *Koñ-sed*¹⁴ and *Du-rya*,¹⁵ inside the fort and outside as far as the parish limit, there are monasteries some 15; minor temples for particular worship

¹ *sgo-sgoñi-mchod-pa*. On the *stūpas* in front of the *Khotan* houses see *Fa-hian* in *Beal, Buddhist Records*, i, p. xxv.

² *tshar-yan-chad-na*: On *tshar* see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 169 sqq.

³ *sgos-htsho* = *tsho-ba-sgos-sbyor*, p. 323, n. 3.

⁴ The "Mouse" year is the first in the twelve-year cycle. Perhaps this is the first year in the cycle to which belongs the "Dog" year mentioned below.

⁵ *Kam-sed(n)* was the eastern province of *Khotan*; but we are not in a position to define its limits: see *supra*, p. 102, n. 2.

⁶ Probably this was in the vicinity of the mountain *Pha-san*, mentioned *supra*, pp. 48, 82, n. 1.

⁷ *Be-rka-hdra*: Probably this place-name appears as a personal name (*Bargada*) in the *Kharoṣṭhī* documents: see *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, p. 49.

⁸ On 'O-sku see *supra*, p. 132, n. 7.

⁹ *Ji-la*: Not elsewhere mentioned, unless it is the *Sie-la*, a village near *Mazār-Tāgh*, of *Chavannes, Documents Chinois*, p. 204, which is not improbable.

¹⁰ *spyir*.

¹¹ *rkyen-pa*; cf. p. 323, n. 2.

¹² *sgo-htsho*: see n. 3 *supra*.

¹³ No doubt = *Kilian*: see *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 259-61.

¹⁴ On *Koñ-sed* see *supra*, p. 102, n. 3.

¹⁵ No doubt = *Duwa*: see *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 260-1.

and minor temples without donors, including *stūpas*, are . . .¹ From the Samghas of both sexes down to tenants and those with private means, are about 963.

444a While, reckoning from the time of king Vijaya-Sambhava, grandson of king Earth-breast, when the religion first arose in the Li country, down to the last intercalary month of the Dog year,² the years are some 1,256, the *Prophecy of the Li country*³—in accord with the *Inquiry of the Ārya Candragarbha*⁴ and the *Inquiry of the Devī Vimalaprabhā*⁵ and the *Prophecy of the Ārya Arhat Samghavardhana*,⁶ and describing at large the Li country and how by the kings of Li the Āryas were invited and how the doctrine of Buddha and its principal⁷ monasteries and temples and *stūpas* were established and in what manner the Samghas of both sexes spread—is here concluded. Be it well !

¹ Number wanting. On the above divisions of the Khotan kingdom see the Introduction.

² The "Dog year", the eleventh in the twelve-year cycle. On the date see *supra*, pp. 75-6.

³ *Li-yul-lun-bstan-pa*, which began on fol. 420b: see *supra*, pp. 73 sqq.

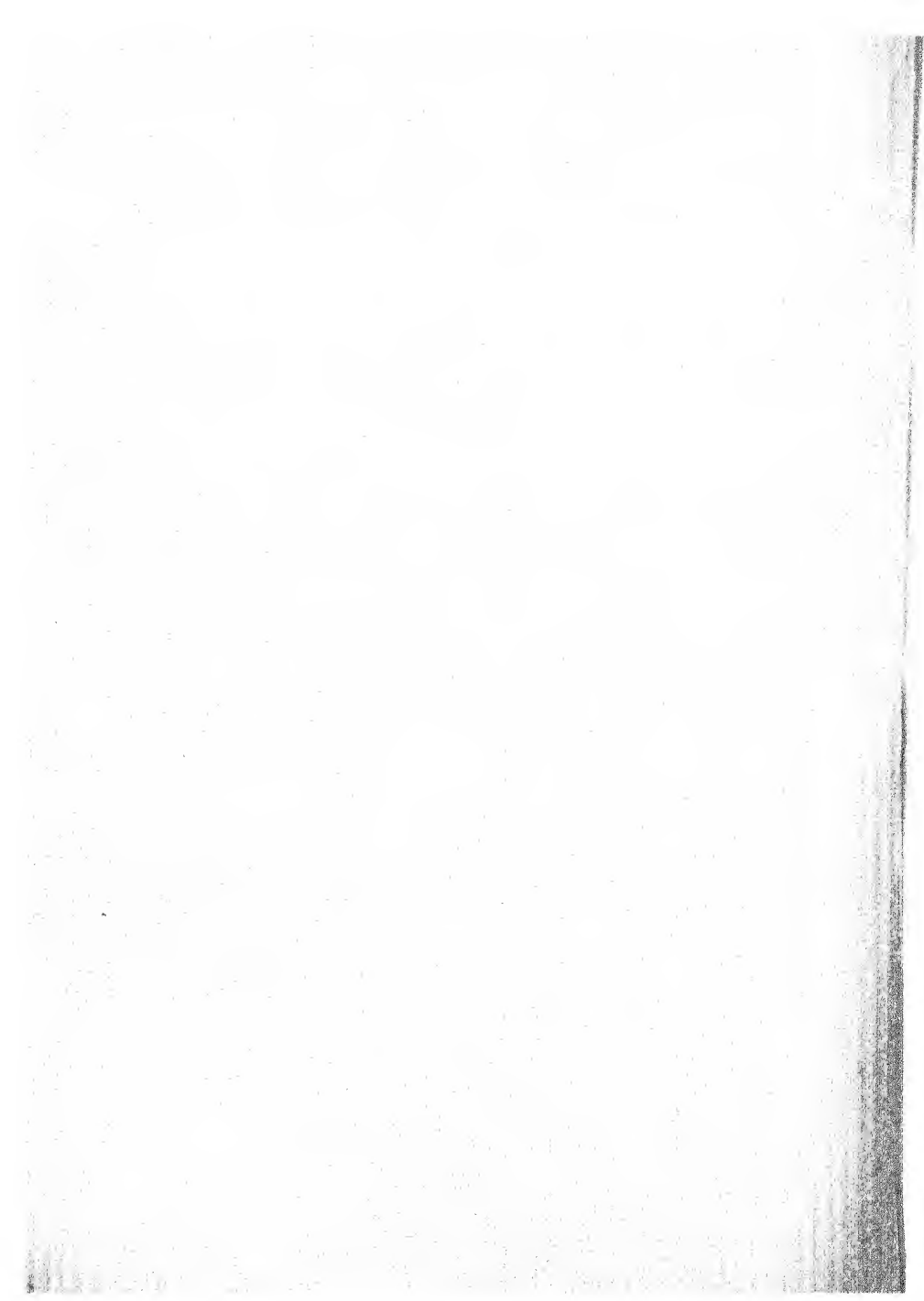
⁴ *Ārya-Candragarbha-paripṛcchā*, i.e. the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, on which see *supra*, pp. 45-6.

⁵ The *Vimalaprabhā-paripṛcchā*: see *infra*, pp. 141 sqq.

⁶ The text given *supra*, pp. 53 sqq.

⁷ Literally "root" (*gāṇi*).

The Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā



THE INQUIRY OF VIMALAPRABHĀ

(Dri-ma-med-paḥi-hod-kyis-zus-pa)

The Text

The *Inquiry* (or *Questioning*) of *Vimalaprabhā*, in Sanskrit *Vimalaprabhā-paripṛcchā*, is contained in the *Sūtra* section of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur*, among a number of other “*Inquiries*” grouped in one or two volumes : in the Snar-thaṅ (Narthang) xylograph it occupies folios 339–418 of volume Pa (13), while the Berlin MS. presents it on folios 295 (a)–358 (a) of volume Ba (15).¹ No Sanskrit original or other version is known ; probably the text never had many readers outside Khotan, where it originated, and the adjacent countries. It is duly noted in the catalogues of Csoma Körösi (*Asiatic Researches*, xx, p. 450 = Feer, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, ii, p. 255) and Beckh (p. 41). The earliest known reference to it is contained in the colophon to the *Annals of the Li Country*, concerning which see above (pp. 74–6 ; cf. pp. 304–5) ; the Index volume of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* affirms (fol. 95b, ll. 5–6) that in the *Ldan-dkar-ma* and *Chos-hbyun* (Bu-ston) it is erroneously said to have *six* chapters and is stated to be also named *Vimalaprabhā-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* and *Li-yul-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*. The *V°-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* is, however, a different text, as may be seen from the citations in the Tibetan chronological work of Suresāmatibhadra (see Schlagintweit’s edition and translation, Munich Academy *Abhandlungen*, 1896, pp. 591–670, Index). The statement in the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* Index (fol. 12a, 1)—reproduced in *Hor-chos-byun*, trans., p. 102—that according to the *V°-paripṛcchā-sūtra* “Two thousand five hundred years after my *nirvāṇa* the good religion will be established in the country of the Red-Faces” does not correspond to anything in our text and really relates to the *V°-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*, as may be seen from Schlagintweit, p. 626.

¹ British Museum MS. (B.M.), vol. xxx, foll. 220–287.

The *Vimaladattā-paripṛcchā* of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* (Dkon-brtsegs, v, foll. 406 sqq.) and the Chinese *Tripitaka* (Nanjio 23 (35), etc.) is an entirely different work.

In some respects the *Inquiry* is on the lines of an ordinary Buddhist *sūtra*, one of the later type, however, with *dhāraṇīs*, like the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa*. But the reader will not have gone far before becoming conscious of a certain femininity in the tone. Finding a reference to "the Gold Race" and then to Skar-rdo, he will be aware that he is dealing with plain realities; and ultimately the text is seen to relate to a particular historical situation.

For our present purposes the interest of the text resides mainly in the historical, local and sociological particulars. These, although by no means clearly presented, might be summarized in a moderate space. But such a method is, as experience shows, not for the convenience of scholars, who prefer to be able to verify such references *in situ*. Accordingly, what is here given is a practically complete translation with omission, or abridgment, only of a few passages detailing *dhāraṇīs* and their applications, or lists of imaginary Buddhas and the like. Some longer descriptions (of ceremonies or usages) which have a general or a local interest have been given in full.

The language in which the work was originally composed cannot have been Tibetan: this is precluded not only by the date, but also by the whole situation, in which the Tibetans are the enemy. In favour of the Sanskrit we may urge the fact of the reception of the text into the canon of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* and also the folk-etymologies (*infra*, pp. 166-7) connected with the Sanskrit word *nagara*. The latter consideration is, however, not conclusive, since such folk-etymologies, when once accepted with reference to one language, are easily taken over by speakers or writers of another. An example of this truth can perhaps be observed in the text itself; for the etymology of *Ba-dag* (p. 158) seems to imply a Tibetan original, which is impossible: so that we must believe either

that in the language of Khotan the equation *ba-dag* = "cattle-owner" was equally plausible, or that *ba-dag* actually had that meaning in some other language to which it belonged, or that the Tibetan folk-etymology had become known through a Sanskritizing in the form, e.g., *Gopa* or *Go(Gavām)pati*. The question of the original language may, therefore, be left undecided, although the Sanskrit would have the best claim.

The Tibetan text is often awkward and long-winded, with repetitions of phrases and grammatical errors, such as the use of Genitives for Instrumentals and *vice versa*.

Content of the Text

As will be seen, the opening of the narrative presents the Buddha seated with his usual retinue of Devas and so forth on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill, where he has just delivered the *Candragarbha-sūtra* and has committed the various countries to their several tutelary deities.¹ Before long we are introduced to the heroine of the work, in the person of a Bodhi-sattva incarnated as a daughter of king Ajātaśatru, with the name Vimalaprabhā, and present in the company. With her are associated a number of members of Ajātaśatru's family and also some other persons, who all, in consequence of certain particular actions, receive prediction of future incarnations in the Khotan country, for the most part in connection with the heroine. After Vimalaprabhā the leading figure is Kumāra Vajrasena, a son of Ajātaśatru, who in the predicted future will be again her brother. All will play a part at a critical period of Khotan history, when it will be involved in the wars of the Tibetans, Chinese, Sum-pas, and others.

Most of the persons mentioned are in one way or another brought into relation to a famous event in the lifetime of the historical Buddha, namely the destruction of the Śākya by the army of Virūdhaka, king of Kośāla. But rôles are also found for a king of 'U-rgyan (Udyāna) and a king of Kaspar-

¹ See the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, ap. Lévi, *BÉFE-O*, v, pp. 261 sqq.

land (Kāśmīr), and members of their families ; and occasion is made for episodes relating to a certain Upāsikā Hu-śa, belonging to the Gold Country, to certain " wild men ", and to experiences of some of the *dramatis personæ*, including Avalokiteśvara and Buddha himself, in prior lives.

The characters represented in the story as contemporary with Buddha are for the most part otherwise unknown : evidently therefore they and their connections are ætiological prototypes of the real historical personages. The text follows out this method in considerable detail ; and in this way, as well as by explicit statements, it furnishes much new information concerning countries, political history, and usages.

The actual situation unambiguously set forth in the text is as follows :—The Li country (Khotan) has been invaded by the Tibetans, and there has been great devastation of Buddhist shrines, etc. The king, by name Vijaya-Vikrama, has fallen in battle, and with him have perished the king of Skar-rdo, Īśvara-varman, and his eldest son. In Khotan the successor is Vijaya-Kīrti, son of Vijaya-Vikrama, who is viewed unfavourably ; while Skar-rdo falls to Vijaya-varman, younger son of Īśvara-varman and hero of the piece. The main design is that Vijaya-varman, who probably is in Skar-rdo, should proceed to the Gold Country, procure there funds with which to buy off the Tibetans, and become ruler of both Khotan and Skar-rdo, appointing in the latter a subordinate king : the Gold Country and other lands are also to be taken over. The Khotan king, Vijaya-Kīrti, who has administered a defeat to Vijaya-varman, is expected to acquiesce, and to be afterwards in friendly co-operation with the latter.

Beside the Tibetans a people called Sum-pa appears to have wrought devastation in Khotan. Fighting is expected between the Tibetans and the Chinese. The latter seem to be favourably regarded ; and Vijaya-varman is to have a Chinese wife (p. 202). Vijaya-varman is to be king during thirty years and then to accept a religious vocation.

An obscure part in the drama is played by the "wild men", free-booters, some of whom bear names of interesting form. They are, we gather, to co-operate with Vijaya-varman (pp. 232, 244). Their fortunes, like those of the other persons named in the text, are explained by "parables" relating to their prior lives.

The sequence of events is accordingly as follows :—

(1) The Tibetans, probably in alliance with the Sum-pas, invade Khotan. Death of the Khotan king Vijaya-Vikrama and of the Skar-rdo king Īśvara-varman and his eldest son (in battle in the Gold Country) (pp. 226-7). Rab-ñes, daughter of Īśvara-varman, goes with her husband into the Gold Country.

(2) Rab-ñes in great grief in the Gold Country, where her husband is, or has been, king. Death of Rab-ñes' daughter or sister (pp. 195, 200-1).

(3) Strife between the new kings of Khotan (Vijaya-Kirti) and Skar-rdo (Vijaya-varman). The two parties, that of Do-good and that of Do-evil¹ (p. 215). Birth of two sons, Vijaya-varman and Vijaya-Kirti, to Vijaya-varman (?) (p. 227).

(4) Defeat (in Skar-rdo, p. 244) of the king of Skar-rdo by the king of Khotan (p. 228).

(5) Rab-ñes in Khotan conceives her mission and pronounces the Amṛta-duṇḍubhi-ṣvara *dhāraṇī* (pp. 215, 228). She commences her religious work. The Tibetans begin to invade the country. After a period of discouragement Rab-ñes is inspired by a Gold Country monk named Puṇyananda, and the Pa-laṅ Sum-pas are repelled. In the third year the Ba-dag Sum-pas and the Tibetans seize the country. Rab-ñes receives inspiration and the *sūtra*, which is sent, as divine authority, to Vijaya-varman in Skar-rdo. Vijaya-varman is to proceed to the Gold Country to procure money, with the

¹ Concerning the story of Do-good and Do-evil (Kalyāṇaṃkāra and Pāpaṃkāra) see the reff., p. 181, n. 2.

object of buying off the Tibetans, whose (new) invasion is imminent (pp. 202-4, 248). For a detailed time-table see p. 235, n. 3.

Future

(6) The Chinese are expected to come and fight the Tibetans, in which event Vijaya-varman is to make an understanding with them (p. 254).

(7) Vijaya-varman is to have a Chinese wife, to rule during thirty years and then to retire into a religious life (p. 255).

In its preoccupation with actual political matters the *Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā* is, as a Buddhist religious *sūtra*, perhaps without parallel. Religious interest is, however, supplied in abundance through the title-personage in her incarnation as Rab-ñes. As we have seen, this lady, a sister of Vijaya-varman and daughter of Īśvara-varman, of Skar-rdo, is in Khotan, engaged in religious work. She has been living in the Gold Country, where her husband was ruler. There she had suffered great griefs through the deaths of her parents, her elder brother, whom she has installed as a local deity, and her daughter. In Khotan she has learned of a defeat of her brother Vijaya-varman, with whom she is anxious to get into touch. She has experienced the disapproval of Devas and men, and has had to practise the Great Patience. But now her inspiration has come: she has remembered her prior lives, and has received the *sūtra* itself and the *dhāraṇīs* which are to effect the salvation of the Khotan people and country. Divine lights are gathered over her: she is the Devī Vimalaprabhā, and her brother is the Kumāra Vajrasena. As an old blind woman, she had been led into the presence of the Buddha Ratnagarbha, when he entered "the city", and had been healed: thereupon she had made aspiration for Buddhahood. She had been a Devī in the Deva world. In the Gold Country she had been the Upāsikā Hu-śa. As a Bodhi-sattva in a world named "Variously Adorned with

Illuminating Light", she had aspired to hear from Śākya-muni himself the *Lotus of the Good Law* and thenceforth to work for the benefit of all beings. From Śākya-muni she had learned her glorious future. In the Li country she had many times been a ruler and foundress of shrines (pp. 250-1). In fulfilment of the vow made in the presence of Śākya-muni and all the Buddhas and Bodhi-sattvas and Devas and other divine beings, who had all taken pledges to assist her, she had been prepared to endure during countless lives the condition of woman and to work for the good of women and of all sufferers: until, in a world entitled "As Woman Famed", she should, as the Tathāgata "Religion-sound, grasping in hand a Treasure of Gems", attain Supreme, Perfect Enlightenment.

The other *dramatis personæ* have subordinate rôles, and for particulars of them we may refer to the following "Table of Persons", which cites all the names along with the information supplied concerning "other lives". The text being somewhat confused, these are a few doubtful points.

TABLE OF PERSONS

A (actual)	B (in Śākya-muni's time)	C (in prior or intermediate or other lives)
I. BUDDHA AND BUDDHIST DIVINITIES, SAINTS, ETC. (those only who play some part in the story)		
—	Śākya-muni	(1) The Brahman Samudrarenu (pp. 219, 221) (2) The Brahman Parivrajaka Bodhi (pp. 242-3)
	Avalokiteśvara	(1) An old Brahman (pp. 219, 221)
Vimalaprabhā? (pp. 217, 245)	Mañjuśrī	(1) Droṇa-sagotra (p. 245) (2) The Brahman Candrasuci or Śubhacandra (p. 244)
[Makes Rab-ñes re-member <i>dhāraṇīs</i>] (p. 218)	Samantabhadra	

A (actual)	B (in Śākya-muni's time)	C (in prior or intermediate or other lives)
II. FAMILY OF VIMALAPRABHĀ-RAB-ÑES		
Īśvara - varman I (father: king of Skar-rdo, p. 225)	King of Kaspara (Kāś-mir) (pp. 193, 225)	(1) Ally of Virūḍhaka (p. 193)
Consort of Īśvara-varman I (p. 225)	Consort of King of Kaspara (p. 194)	
Eldest son of Īśvara-varman I (brother of Rab-ñes: the Yakṣa 'Ā-dzul) (pp. 194, 225)	Son of Ajātaśatru (brother of Vimala-prabhā) (p. 194)	
Youngest son of Īśvara-varman I (youngest brother of Rab-ñes: Dpaḥ-sbed or Vijaya-Varman, king of the Gold Race (p. 201), of Skar-rdo, and later of Li) (pp. 225, 227, 229, 235, 237-9, 243-4)	Kumāra Vajrasena (son of King Ajātaśatru) (pp. 195-6)	(1) Prince Do-good (p. 227) (2) An old blind woman's son (p. 221) (3) A Deva (p. 195) (4) The Lay-worshipper Hu-śa (p. 195) (5) A man who gave flour to his mother (pp. 243-4) (6) The Chief Councillor Gtso-bo (p. 228)
Rab-ñes (daughter of Īśvara - varman I: wife of King of the Gold Race)	Devī Vimalaprabhā (daughter of King Ajātaśatru) (p. 188)	(1) An old blind woman (p. 221) (2) A Devī (p. 223) (3) The Rākṣasī Hu-śa (pp. 201, 223-4) (4) A Bodhi-sattva (p. 198 Cittadāha) (5) Wife of Councillor Gtso-bo (p. 231) (6) The first eight kings of Li (p. 250) (7) Mañjuśrī? (p. 245) (8) A Buddha (p. 198)
Husband of Rab-ñes (King of the Gold Race) (p. 225)	King Ajātaśatru's city-ward (p. 200)	
Īśvara-varman II, son of Rab-ñes (Regent of the Gold Country) (pp. 200, 254)	Son of King Ajātaśatru's city-ward (p. 200)	
Daughter (sister? p. 225) of Rab-ñes (p. 225)	Youngest sister of Vimalaprabhā (p. 195)	
Daughter of Rab-ñes (p. 200)	Attendant of Vimala-prabhā (p. 200)	
Son-in-law of R. (Bi-te-ku-la, pp. 200, 232)	A person in Buddha's company (pp. 200-1)	
Chief Consort of the King of the Gold Race (co-wife with Rab-ñes?) (p. 225)	A person in Buddha's company (p. 201)	(1) Companion of the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa (p. 201)

A (actual)	B (in Śākya-muni's time)	C (in prior or intermediate or other lives)
Chinese consort of Vijaya-varman (pp. 202, 225)	A companion of Vimala- prabhā and a local deity (pp. 202, 225)	(1) During five or seven lives queen of Li (pp. 225-6)
Vijaya-Varman II ? (son of Vijaya- Varman I : p. 227)		(1) A woman; (2) a man (pp. 243-4)
Vijaya-Kirti II ? (son of Vijaya-Varman I ? : p. 227)		

III. THE ROYAL FAMILY OF LI

Vijaya-Vikrama (king of Skar-rdo and Li) (pp. 224-5)	King of Udyāna (p. 192, n. 2)	First king of Li (p. 224)
Vijaya-Kirti (king of Li: son of Vijaya- Vikrama, pp. 226- 7); killed by "wild men" (p. 244) and Aśokā (p. 232)	A young prince of Ajātaśatru's house (p. 212)	(1) The Great Coun- cillor Cig-śos (p. 231) (2) Prince Do-evil (p. 227) (3) A woman's son who stole flour (p. 243)
Mother of Vijaya- Kirti (p. 243)		(1) Mother of the man who stole flour (p. 243); (2) ploughman (p. 244)

IV. THE TIBETANS AND SUM-PAS

The Tibetan king		(1) A man whose flour, etc., were stolen (p. 243)
The Tibetan troops		(1) The cattle of the man whose flour, etc., were stolen (p. 243)
The Sum-pa king	A Śākya man (pp. 236, 242-3)	(1) The owner of certain bullocks (p. 242)
The Sum-pas		(1) Descendants of Virūḍhaka (p. 226)

V. THE "WILD MEN"

Bi-te-ku-la or Pi-de- ku-la or Piñ-ku-la or Pid-ku-la (pp. 232-3)		The Chief "Wild Man" (p. 231)
Mother of capturer of "Wild Men" (p. 232)		Mother of Chief "Wild Man" (p. 232)
'A-kun (associate of Rab-nes and Vijaya- Varman) (pp. 232, 234, 255)		(1) Murderer A of wife of Great Councillor Gtso-bo (p. 232) (2) Jñānayaśah, a pious founder (p. 255)
Du(Nu)-pa-la (associ- ate of Rab-nes and Vijaya-Varman, pp. 232, 234)		Murderer B of wife of Great Councillor Gtso-bo (p. 232)
Aśokā (wife of 'A-kun, p. 232)		Wife of Murderer A (p. 232)

A (actual)	B (in Śākya-muni's time)	C (in prior or intermediate or other lives)
Supriyā, wife of Dupa-la? (p. 232)		Wife of Murderer B (p. 232)
Wife of Pi-de-ku-la (carried off by king of Skar-rdo: p. 232); daughter, or sister, of Rab-ñes? (p. 233)		Murdered wife of Great Councillor Gtso-bo (p. 230)
Sad-ku-la (p. 231)		Younger brother of Great Councillor Cig-śos (p. 231)
Punyavardhana (pp. 231-2): = Punyananda (<i>infra</i>)?		Son of Great Councillor Cig-śos (pp. 231-2)

VI. OTHER PERSONS

	Woman (Sujātā) who gave first food to Buddha	Woman who fed the Brahman Parivrājaka Bodhi (p. 243)
Monks of Khotan or the Gold Country		Men who ate rice by the way-side (p. 244)
Servants of the King of Li		Birds which ate rice by the way-side (p. 244)
		Hog-pag-can (a caravan-leader, pp. 222-3)
Punyananda (a monk of the Gold Country who encourages Rab-ñes, p. 237)	Inhabitant of a Buddha realm (p. 237)	Monk of Udyāna (p. 237)
Nagarabhadra (p. 243)	Pupil of Kauṇḍinya (p. 212)	

Geographical and Ethnical Considerations

Khotan, China, Tibet, Skar-rdo, the Gold Race, the Sum-pas, the wild men—in dealing with such a combination the only way of curtailing discussion is to relate the story from our own point of view, and then to add what may be necessary in the way of particular elucidations. For Skar-rdo, which possibly is only a Tibetan rendering of a native name, we may substitute the familiar designation of the country denoted, namely Baltistān.

We may begin by suggesting an explanation of the choice of a story associated with Ajātaśatru. In Khotan the foundation legend was concerned with Aśoka. The Himalayan countries to the south of Khotan, the countries of the Kāśmīr region, will have received a knowledge of Buddha story

at an earlier stage, when the Ajātaśatru portion of it was less obscured by subsequent occurrences. This seems to be actual fact. For in Udyāna, as we learn from Hiuan-Tsang (Beal, op. cit., i, p. 128; Julien, i, pp. 141-2), the legend of Virūḍhaka and the Śākyas was rife. We have further the stories of Sampaha¹ and the other three Śākya youths, connected with Śāmbī, Udyāna, Himatala, and Bāmiān. As we shall see, the legend of the Upāsikā Hu-śa and the Gold Country belongs to a comparatively early stage of Buddhism : the Udyāna king of our text is meant, no doubt, for the Uttarāsena-rāja who is stated to have obtained a portion of the Buddha-relics.

In the latter half of the seventh century A.D. the great powers which were contending for mastery in Central Asia were China, Tibet, and the Turks. For, although by the middle of that century the Chinese may be said to have definitely mastered the Turks,² it was not long before their supremacy was enfeebled by the intervention of the Tibetans, who during the next century were their leading opponents. Here we are concerned only with the western parts of Chinese Turkestan and the adjacent regions, chiefly small kingdoms acknowledging a general suzerainty of the Chinese. These are Khotan, Cu-gon-pan (Karghalik), Tashkurghan or Sarikkol, Kashgar, Tokharestan, Baltistan, and the Gold Country.

Khotan, which early in the seventh century had been subject to the Turks, was first threatened by the Tibetans in A.D. 665, when it was saved by the Chinese.³ These Tibetans may have approached from the eastern (Cer-cen) direction; but, as they were co-operating with Turks and Kashgaris, it may have been by the northern route from the kingdom of Shan-shan, which at that time was perhaps under their control.

In the years 676-8 Kashgar was crushed by the Tibetans, who in 670 had defeated the Chinese and in 676-8 had

¹ Cf. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 118; Beal, op. cit., ii, p. 21.

² Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 264-8.

³ Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 113-4, 122, note.

attacked Karashahr.¹ From this time onward, until it was conquered by the Musalmans, it seems to have been without importance. But the Tibetan intervention was temporary ; and during the ensuing period the Kashgar rulers were usually under the control of the Chinese government of Turkestan (the Four Garrisons).²

To the west of Khotan was the small kingdom of Cu-gon-pan or Karghalik,³ which was important as the usual starting-point for intercourse with the western Himalaya, India, and the Pamir countries, via Sarikkol or Tashkurghan, and later by the Karakoram passes. The high mountain valleys south of the main watershed which led to these passes were, no doubt, dependent upon Cu-gon-pan rather than upon Khotan, so long as it existed as a separate entity ; but it is to be suspected that this kingdom was in general overshadowed by Khotan, though clearly it would derive support from its relations to its northern neighbours Yarkand and Kashgar.

The Tashkurghan kingdom of Sarikkol adjoined Cu-gon-pan on its own eastern side, while more northwards it was connected by direct routes with Kashgar : its rulers were more in relation with the latter. On the west the Sarikkol kingdom extended up to the Wakhan Pamir, where its neighbour was what may be denoted by the general term Tokharestan.⁴ In the years A.D. 713-41 the Chinese established in this country their most westerly stronghold, Ts'ung-ling.⁵

Tokharestan, the old Tokharī dominion which had formerly been conquered by the Hūnas, or Hephthalites, was still, no doubt, as we are definitely informed concerning Tokharestan proper,⁶ under its Turkish rulers, largely Hephthalite. It was a nominal suzerainty, covering a number of small

¹ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 121-2, 207-8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5 ; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 91-3.

⁴ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 156, note 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5 ; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 28-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

kingdoms from Kapiśā, Zabūlistan, to Khottal, Kūrān, Shighnān, Badakshan, the "kingdom of the Hephthalites" proper, and Wakhan.¹

Baltistan,² which along with the Gold Country is here for the first time brought into relation to Khotan politics, is not actually named in the text, which speaks of the king of Skar-rdo. But the antiquity of the name is guaranteed by the Greek references to the Bultai, if not also by the Chinese expression "Great P'o-lü",³ and Skar-rdo, which looks like Tibetan, is perhaps due to the translators. In modern times the name Skar-rdo has been applied not only to the capital, with its striking, often figured,⁴ rock and fortress, but to the whole valley, stretching along the Indus for about sixty⁵ miles and bounded on the north and south by tremendous mountains. At no time can there have been a king of Baltistan other than the "king of Skar-rdo". But the valley of the Śi-sgar river, which leads up to the northern passes, has still a little dynasty of chiefs, who must always have been subordinate to the Baltistan kingdom.⁶ How far on the south the Baltistan rule extended, towards Karghil, for instance, we have no means of ascertaining; on the eastern side it adjoined the Tibetans of Ladak, and on the west the Indus gorges (Roñ-mdo) separated it from the kingdom of Bru-sal or Gilgit, the "Little P'o-lü" of the Chinese.

Concerning the Gold Race notices were first, it seems, collected, in an excellent summary, by Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*, i, p. 851-2: i², p. 1,023). It is just named in certain Buddhist lists (see Lévi, *BÉFE-O*, v, p. 274);

¹ Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 158-9, 200-1, 291-2.

² On its names see *infra*, pp. 175 sqq.

³ = *Bru-* (pp. 175-6)? The modern Tibetan name *Sbal-ti* is perhaps found (*Sbal-lhi*) in a document (a, IV, 0026) from Mazār-Tāgh.

⁴ Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 363; Vigne, *Travels*, ii, p. 192; De Filippi, *Storia della Spedizione Italiana nel Himalaia . . .* (1913-1914), pp. 53-5.

⁵ Cunningham, *Ladak*, pp. 32-3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

and Hiuan-Tsang (trans. Beal, i, pp. 198-9; Julien, i, p. 232; Watters, i, p. 330) furnishes the Sanskrit name *Suvarṇagotra* and informs us that the country lay in the midst of the Snowy Mountains and was "extended from east to west and contracted from north to south". To the east it bordered on Tibet, to the west on Sam-pa-ha (Śāmbī), to the north on Khotan. Another Chinese account (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 124) states that it was some 3,000 *li* (say 600 miles) south of Karghalik.¹

Hiuan-Tsang remarks further that *Suvarṇagotra* was the same as the country of "the eastern women". "For ages a woman has been ruler, and so it is called 'the kingdom of the women'. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing about the affairs of the state. The men manage the wars and sow the land, and that is all." In fact a *Strī-rājya*, "Kingdom of Women" is mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata* (iii, 1991; xii, 114), in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāha-Mihira (xiv, 22; xvi, 6), and in the *Harṣa-carita* of Bāṇa (c. vii; trans., p. 210), but without specification: even the Kāśmīr *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, which evidently has some conception of the location (iv, 173, 185, 586, 665), affords no particulars.

It is possible that Hiuan-Tsang, though he may have

¹ The Tibetan form of the name *Suvarṇagotra* is *Gser-rigs*. Professor Pelliot proposes (*T'oung pao*, xiii (1912), p. 357) to recognize a Tibetan *Gser-rabs*, which would be equivalent thereto, in a Chinese name *Si-li* (**Sir-lip*), which may refer to the same country: if that is correct, the, otherwise unknown, country *Si-ri-da*, which in the *Bstan-hgyur*, Mdo 94 (fol. 409a, in a *Sthaviropāṇi-mantraṇa*; infra, pp. 261-2) is named in connection with Darada, Gandara (Gandhāra), Gu-zan, Li, Ba-le (Balti?), Bri-śa (Bru-za?), Kha-che (Kāśmīr) and Rgya-yul (China), may conceivably represent the same (Chinese) form (or=*Śi-l-thās*, Chilas?).

It would be confusing to refer particularly here to the other two "kingdoms of women", namely, one in south-eastern Tibet, and one in an island in the Indian Ocean, which also are discussed by Professor Pelliot, loc. cit., and in the places to which he gives references, viz. *BĒFE-Q*, iv, pp. 299-303; Schlegel, *T'oung pao* iii, pp. 495 sqq., vi, 247 sqq.; Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 405-6; Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau-ju-kua*, 26, 151-2; Watters, *Yuan-Chwang*, ii, pp. 257-8; O. Franke, Berlin Academy *Abhandlungen*, 1905, p. 37.

visited "Bolor" (Beal, op. cit., ii, pp. 289-90; Julien, ii, pp. 272-3; Watters, ii, pp. 285-7), did not clearly distinguish between Baltistan, which, however, is separately (Beal, op. cit., i, pp. 135-6; Julien, i, 150-1) treated and named *Po-lu-lo*, and the country of the Gold Race. But from our text it is evident that the two, although related, are not identical. In one passage, indeed (p. 201), Vijaya-varman, otherwise recognized as king of Skar-rdo, is to be king of the Gold Race. But his father Īśvara-varman and his like-named successor are not so designated. In general (pp. 204, 225) the two kingdoms are distinguished: Vimalaprabhā's husband is king of the Gold Race, and Vijaya-varman appears prominently as going on a mission to that king or his successor.¹ Furthermore, a discrimination of the two kingdoms is in accord with our other sources of information. To the Greeks the gold country is the country of the Dards, Daradrai, Daradai, Derdai; and this country, in Sanskrit *Darada*, *Darad-deśa*, is not by the Sanskrit writers, Brahmanical (*Mahā-Bhārata*, etc.) or Buddhist (see Lévi, loc. cit.), confused with Baltistan. On such a point the Kāśmīr *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* should be well informed.²

Accordingly the Gold Country must be in part identical with the Hunza-Nagar territory. The regular communication which the text demands between this territory and Skar-rdo is still remembered by the Nagarīs; and the existence of direct routes north of the great mountain Rakapushi has been established by the explorations of Godwin-Austen³ and Conway.⁴ Drew speaks⁵ of "the route from Skardu to Yarkand over the difficult passes from Nagar"; and that

¹ See pp. 202-4, 248.

² Mirza Haidar also, who had full personal knowledge of both territories, clearly distinguishes Balur from Baltistan (trans. Elias and Ross, pp. 384-5).

³ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1864, pp. 19-56.

⁴ *Climbing, etc., in the Karakoram-Himalayas*, pp. 286-377.

⁵ *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 433; cf. Leitner, *Hunza and Nagar Handbook*, p. 73; and Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, p. 155.

the difficulty of the passes has in modern times been increased by the advance or retreat of the Hispar and other glaciers is a fact ascertained by the official survey of the Government of India.¹ Thus there exists no geographical objection to the view that in old times Skar-rdo communicated with Nagar not by the long détour viâ the Indus gorge south of Rakapushi (or still further south) and then up the Gilgit river, but directly. The other indications are decidedly favourable. Colonel Durand observes² that "the untold profusion of the apricots³ and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream have gained the country among the Nagaris themselves the name of 'the land of gold and apricots'". The Gold Mountain might be the great Rakapushi itself, from the valleys of which a fine gold is still procured.⁴ But a claim might perhaps be put forward on behalf of the Ganishtsish, mentioned by both Leitner⁵ and Conway,⁶ which still bears the name.

In regard to direct routes from Skar-rdo to Chinese Turkestan, routes more westerly than that through Ladak and the Karakoram, and attaining the valley of the Yarkand river (Zarafshan) and not of the Karakash, there is also no question. Mirza Haidar speaks of the "pass of Skardu"; and the existence of the Mustâgh Pass and the old Mustâgh Pass is attested by Sir Francis Younghusband,⁷ who himself crossed the former in the year 1887, and also by others.⁸ There is high expert authority⁹ for the view that some of the

¹ Burrard and Hayden, *Geography and Geology of the Himalayan Mountains*, p. 193. Cf. Younghusband, *Heart of a Continent*, p. 189.

² *The Making of a Frontier*, p. 143.

³ The profusion of fruit in "Baluristan" is noted also by Mirza Haidar (p. 386). The same is true of Baltistan (Drew, pp. 363-4).

⁴ Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 220. It may be noted that the gold mentioned by Ktesias (fr. McCrindle, p. 95) is of a red colour, while according to Hiuan-Tsang the gold of Bolor is "red as fire".

⁵ *Hunza and Nagar Handbook*, p. 72.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 245, "the Golden Parri."

⁷ *The Heart of a Continent*, pp. 185-6, 208, 217, etc.

⁸ Cf. Durand, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-2, 127.

⁹ See Godwin-Austen, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 51.

routes may be *relatively* easy and may have been traversed by sportsmen unconscious of accomplishing a highly extraordinary feat. From Chinese Turkestan the Pakhpu valleys north of the Kuen-lun must often have been visited in quest of the minerals for which old workings have been seen or recorded. It was in these valleys that, as Drew observes,¹ "the Hunza robbers, issuing from their own country and crossing the watershed by easier passes, used to attack the caravans where the two roads met on the farther side of the range."

In view of the routes connecting Skar-rdo both with Nagar and with Chinese Turkestan it is, we can see, no accident that the little state of Śi-sgar, north of Skar-rdo, the valley of which was starting-point or terminus of both, has retained in a title (*tham*) and the nomenclature of some of its early chiefs traces of connection with those two regions.²

This brings us to the "wild men", concerning whom we are told³ that in good times 500 merchants visit the Li country and do good, while in evil times 500 "wild men" appear and do evil. There is in the text a remarkable passage⁴ concerning their plunderings and abductions. These can hardly be other than the brigands who were a danger to Hiuan-Tsang in Sarikkol.⁵ These brigands, the "Kunjud robbers" of Bellew,⁶ are mentioned by all modern travellers, for instance Drew,⁷ Younghusband,⁸ Conway,⁹ and Stein¹⁰; and, since their depredations extended not only to the Pakhpu valleys, but even as far east as the Karakoram,¹¹ it is intelligible

¹ Op. cit., p. 371. On the Shimshal pass see Younghusband, pp. 227, 263; Conway, p. 532; Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vii, pp. 223-4.

² See *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 121-3, and *infra*, Pt. II, p. 191.

³ *Infra*, p. 227.

⁴ pp. 230-3.

⁵ *Life*, trans. Beal, p. 200; Julien, ii, pp. 274-5. *Mi-rgod*=Sk. *cora*, "robber."

⁶ *Kashmir and Kashgar*, pp. 398-9.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 371.

⁸ Loc. cit., pp. 179-80, 215.

⁹ Op. cit., p. 251.

¹⁰ *Ancient Khotan*, p. 31, n. 20.

¹¹ Younghusband, pp. 179, 215.

that in the eighth century A.D. they should have been a subject of complaint in documents both Chinese¹ and Tibetan.² In such maraudings the people of Hunza played a leading part. Colonel Durand informs us³ that "the Hunzas loot the caravans on their way between Turkestan and India" and mentions that Hunza was the only Himalayan state which actually in recent times had a slave market of such captives. We can see, therefore, that in the Gold Country (Nagar) the Rab-nes of our text had opportunities, which she seems to have used, for establishing friendly relations with, or converting, the "wild men" (pp. 232, 234, 244).

We may now attempt an identification of the Sum-pas, who in the text are not less prominently a subject of apprehension, both in the Gold Country and in Khotan, than the Tibetans. In one passage⁴ they seem to be connected with the north.

The Sum-pas appear rather early in the history of Khotan, being mentioned in the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa* (*supra*, pp. 24, 28). The Tibetans are familiar with Sum-pas in north-eastern Tibet, in Amdo. A Sum-pa man, probably from north-east Tibet, is mentioned in a Tibetan document from Chinese Turkestan (*infra*, Pt. II, p. 242); and others are named in historical and religious works.⁵ It is, however, most improbable, not to say impossible, that at the date of the *Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā* any people of north-eastern Tibet should have been troubling Khotan and the adjacent countries, for which the great empires of China and Tibet were contending. There are two other facts which require to be taken into consideration. In the early (third-fourth century A.D.) Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan there is rather frequent mention of certain Supiyas, who appear to be dreaded marauders; and they seem to be mentioned also in later

¹ Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 521.

² *Infra*, Pt. II, p. 188.

³ p. 139.

⁴ p. 233 *infra*.

⁵ e.g. *Padma-thaṅ-yig*, iv, 64b 6. Concerning these *Sum-pas* and the names *Su-p'i* and *Sien-pi*, see Pelliot in *T'oung pao*, N.S., xx (1921), pp. 330-1.

(Saka-Khotanī) texts.¹ In the second place, neither the Kharoṣṭhī documents nor any of the texts connected with Khotan appear to make reference to the great people known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu, whose presence must often have been felt in Chinese Turkestan and who are known to have invaded Khotan. These two complementary facts suggest that the Kharoṣṭhī Supiyas and the Khotan Sum-pas are really designations of the Hiung-nu themselves or, at any rate, denote some people, or the whole group of peoples, who were wont to make from the north incursions into Chinese Turkestan. It should be noted that the form of the name, *Sum-pa*, is preserved to us only in the Tibetan texts : very probably the original Khotan term so rendered was *So-byi*, which we have in another work (*supra*, p. 78).

If this is so, it seems probable that the Sum-pas of our text were either actually of Hiung-nu stock or at any rate issued from the regions over which the Hiung-nu had once exercised influence. Since in the period to which the text evidently belongs the Tibetans were acting in general combination with the Turks as against the Chinese, it might be suggested that the Sum-pas here in question were really some sort of Turks. The Khotan records seem generally to distinguish the latter as *Hor* (= Chinese *Hu*?), which is still the Tibetan designation. On the other hand, the Hephthalites or White Huns, who are held to be connected with the old Hiung-nu, were in the eighth century A.D., as we have seen, still active in certain of the countries lying to the west of Chinese Turkestan. During the period 742-55 the Hephthalites sent an ambassador to China.² There would therefore be no improbability in an attack upon Khotan by Hephthalites even in the eighth century A.D. : there was also an impelling force from that side, in the shape of the encroachments of the Arabs, who in A.D. 715 actually reached Kashgar.

It may further be pointed out that in the seventh century

¹ See p. 78, n. 8.

² Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

A.D. the Hūna (Hephthalite) dominions comprised also a considerable part of the Indian Himalayas east of Kāśmīr, the region which even in late and modern times was known as Hūna-deśa. The Tibetans speak of this country as Hūna; and at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. the Indian emperor Harṣa was, as a young prince, engaged in a campaign against the Hūnas in "the region which blazes with Kailāsa's lustre".¹ It seems as though the whole northern hinterland of Kāśmīr must have been more or less under Hūna supremacy.

These considerations render it possible that the Sum-pas of our text are really Hūnas or quasi-Hūnas. But the evidence of the text itself places the matter in a clearer light. For it speaks of Ba-dag, or Ba-bdag, Sum-pas and gives a story² of which one of the chief points is a folk-etymology of the name *Ba-dag* as meaning "cattle-owner". Now these Ba-dag are clearly the people of Badakshan, "the Ba-dag mountains," in Chinese "Pa-t'ō-shan"³: for Tibetan works supply the name both in its Chinese (*Ba-to-san*) and in its Tibetan (*Ba-dag-śan*, *Ba-dag-śa*, *Ba-thag-śad*) forms and locate the country between the Stag-zig (Tājiks, Persians) and the Himālaya. It is therefore probable that the Ba-lañ Sum-pas, who also are in the text the subject of a folk-etymology, correspond to the people of Po-la or Po-lan, mentioned by Chavannes.⁴

There is, however, a further suggestion which may account for the name *Sum-pa* and also render justice to the whole situation. For on historical grounds the people here in question should be the Qarluq Turks, known to have been co-operating with the Tibetans in the Pamir during the period. As these Turks emerged from Dzungaria, they may well have inherited in Chinese Turkestan the name of the Sien-pi (Sum-pa), who replaced the Hiung-nu in that quarter,

¹ *Harṣa-carita*, trans., p. 132.

² *Infra*, pp. 242-3.

³ Chavannes, op. cit., Index, and *infra*, Pt. II, p. 281.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 139, 140.

defeated the Wu-sun in c. A.D. 150 and appropriated their country in c. A.D. 300 (De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, i, p. 189; Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques*, p. 166).

The above considerations cannot fail to suggest a conjecture concerning the joint Hunza-Nagar state. The peculiar relation of perpetual strife in which the two small communities have existed¹ requires the supposition that one of them is intrusive. The more northerly community, on the Pamir side, is still distinguished from its Nagar neighbour by usages and disposition and by special names, *Hunzokuts*, *Hunziye*. It is the Hunza state that has supplied the freebooters of Sarikkol and that was peculiar in maintaining even in modern times an open slave-market of its captives. Since, as we have seen, the whole Pamir region had been under Hūna rule, which in fact had extended to the Himālaya, there is no improbability in the hypothesis (which indeed is not a new one²) that the Hunza people were in origin actually Hūnas and bear that name. The syllable *za*, with a gentile signification, has been found (*infra*, Pt. II, p. 73) in common usage in the east of Chinese Turkestan, and it can also be abundantly illustrated from Tibetan texts. This hypothesis derives strong confirmation from the personal names of the "wild men" in our text, whom we have proposed to regard as brigands from Hunza, Wakhan, and Sarikkol. Such names as *Šad-ku-la*, *Bi-te-ku-la* or *Pid-ku-la* or *Piñ-ku-la* are reminiscent both of Mihirakula, the famous tyrant, himself, and of the later Kāśmīr ruler Khīngila or Khīnkhila Narendravarman, who is supposed to be of Hūna descent.³ The other names are 'A-kun and Du(Nu ?)-pa-la.

The Historical Situation

We may now seek to give a more precise form to the historical indications contained in the text.

In the year A.D. 665 the Tibetans attacked Khotan, no

¹ Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, pp. 138 sqq.

² See Cunningham, *Ladāk*, p. 233. Acc. to Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 243, the Nagari say that the Hunzas are Yeshkuns from Wakhan.

³ Stein, *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (trans.), i, pp. 65-6.

doubt from the eastern or northern direction, but it was succoured by the Chinese; from 670 they were masters of the whole of Chinese Turkestan, until in 692 the Chinese resumed control.¹ During the early part of the eighth century their westward advance took a different (additional) direction, which tended to bring them into connection with the Pamir countries, where they would join hands with the Turks, and could cultivate an understanding with the Musalmans in the Oxus basin²: and they would thus threaten the left (right?) horn of the Chinese (in Kashgar and the other countries of Eastern Turkestan). This direction was through La-dvags (Ladak) and Baltistan, or Great P'o-lü.

Baltistan was not a Tibetan country. Hence during the period A.D. 696-741 its rulers, apprehending attack, thrice dispatched missions to the Chinese Court. In A.D. 717 the king Su-fu-sho-li-tche-li-ni was honoured with the title of King of P'o-lü, which was continued to his successor, Su-lin-t'o-i-che.³ The latter, who is, no doubt, our Īśvara-varman, king of Skar-rdo, sent several missions to China; but on his defeat by the Tibetans in A.D. 737 the Chinese could do no more than attempt a diversion in a remote eastern region, that of the Koko-nor.⁴ Īśvara-varman and his eldest son were killed in battle: and in the same battle died Vijaya-Vikrama, king of Khotan, whom a common apprehension, and perhaps a community of race between the two peoples or a family alliance, had united with him.

Either before the battle or at the same time the Tibetans had begun to cultivate relations with the western neighbour of Baltistan, namely the kingdom of Little P'o-lü, or Bru-ža (Bru-śal), Gilgit. In A.D. 740 the Bru-ža king received a Tibetan princess as wife. A similar manœuvre (copied from the Chinese) had in the year A.D. 697 given to the western

¹ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14, n. 2; p. 179, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 sqq.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50, 296. On the names see *infra*, p. 178.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151, n. 2.

neighbour of Khotan (Cu-gon-pan, or Karghalik) a Tibetan princess.¹

After the defeat by the Tibetans the fallen kings were succeeded by their respective sons, Vijaya-varman in Baltistan, Vijaya-Kirti in Khotan. These two were on unfriendly terms, and we gather that Vijaya-varman was defeated. Later the Tibetans invaded Khotan: we are informed that the invasion began in a certain year and was effected in the third year, after a battle at a place called Tsar-min-de, the time being given as the third autumn month.² In the country of the Gold Race, which was threatened, they had not yet appeared, and the country was apparently prosperous. The Chinese were expected to intervene, and a conflict between them and the Tibetans was in prospect.³

This is the situation contemplated by our text. The policy, which it invests with religious sanction, is that Vijaya-varman, who presumably is in Baltistan, should proceed to the kingdom of the Gold Race and there procure from his relative, the king, and from the religious establishments, funds wherewith to buy out the Tibetans from Khotan: in return for this the Khotan king Vijaya-Kirti, who would have no other resource, should acknowledge Vijaya-varman as king of Khotan as well as of Baltistan and should co-operate with him. If in the meantime the Chinese forces should approach Khotan, Vijaya-varman should enter into communication with them, and, himself holding aloof, encourage them in that purpose.⁴

The text seems to be aware that at a later time (?) Vijaya-Kirti, the Khotan king, was killed by "wild men"; but in regard to this there is some obscurity.⁵ The time of its communication must antedate the celebrated Pamir expedition of the Chinese in A.D. 747, which rescued Gilgit from the Tibetans and barred the approach of the latter to the Pamir countries.

¹ *Infra*, Pt. II, pp. 253-4.

² *Infra*, p. 235.

³ *Infra*, pp. 248, 254.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 254.

⁵ *Infra*, pp. 228 and n. 2, 254.

The fragmentary lists of Khotan kings which we possess do not *prima facie* suffice for the identification of a succession of kings Vijaya-Vikrama—Vijaya-Kīrti, or Vijaya-Vikrama—Vijaya-Varman—Vijaya-Kīrti, as presented in the text. Moreover, a difficulty exists in the possible uncertainty as to whether sons of Vijaya-Varman, namely Vijaya-Varman and Vijaya-Kīrti, are really mentioned,¹ and whether Vijaya-Kīrti, the rival of Vijaya-Varman, was actually killed by wild men. The Chinese furnish for the period 674–786 a succession as follows ² :—

A.D. 674. Fu-tu ³-Hiung.

A.D. 691. Ching (son).

A.D. 725. Wei-ch'ih Tiao (Vijaya-Sambhava ?).

A.D. 728. Wei-ch'ih Fu-shih(tu)-chan (Vijaya- . . . -Saṅ-grāma ?).

A.D. 736. Fu-tu-Ta (. . . Dharma ?)

A.D. 740. Wei-ch'ih-Kuei (Vijaya-Krama (K'uei) ?).

A.D. 742–55. Shêng (Jaya or Vijaya).

A.D. 756–86. Shih-hu Yao (Yabgu Kīrti).

In addition a document of A.D. 768 speaks of a Wei-ch'ih Chih-lo, as head of the Six Cities and Amaca. Of these rulers there is one, namely Shêng, who seems to have strong claims to identification with the Vijaya-Varman of our text. This king, of whom the Chinese Annals give a biography,⁵ visited China in the course of the period A.D. 742–55 and received an imperial princess in marriage. After his return to Khotan he assisted the Chinese in the Gilgit expedition of A.D. 747. In the same and the next following year he sent ambassadors to China with presents. Further, in A.D. 756 he led into China five thousand horse in support of the Emperor Su-tsung against a pretender, leaving his younger brother Yabgu Yao

¹ *Infra*, p. 227.

² See Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 311.

³ On this title see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 291–2.

⁴ See p. 126, n. 4.

⁵ See Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 177. One or two additional particulars have been kindly supplied by Professor Kuwata.

(Kīrti) in charge of the kingdom. Later the Yabgu Yao wished to resign in favour of Shêng's son Yao (Kīrti); but both father and son declined and remained in China, where Shêng died in A.D. 786, at the age of 64 years. Here the Chinese wife, the co-operation with the Chinese, the service in the Gilgit region are common features. The name also, Vijaya-varman, is easily reconciled with that of Shêng (Jaya, Vijaya),¹ since *varman*, as a second member of royal names, is no more than a termination. Further, Shêng has a son Kīrti, whom also we may find mentioned in our text. There are two difficulties only in the identification: in the first place, the predecessor of Shêng, namely Kuei, has a name which cannot directly be reconciled with that of (Vijaya-) Vikrama; secondly, his "brother" Yao does not appear in the text as a brother (though there may have been a family connection in the previous generation) and instead we have the above-noted hint concerning an assassination of Vijaya-Kīrti. The first difficulty may easily be due to a confusion, if the Chinese *Kuei* can really represent *Krama*,² a natural abbreviation of Vijaya-Vikrama; and the second might also disappear, if the Yabgu Yao were not the Vijaya-Kīrti who was murdered, but Vijaya-Varman's son of like name. He may then have been named Vijaya-Vikrama after Vijaya-Varman's predecessor and be the *Chih-lo* (in Tibetan form *Rtsal* = *Vikrama*) of the document of A.D. 768. Such complications may be intelligible in the confusion of the times and with the naturally imperfect information of the Chinese concerning a remote and very subordinate state.

If these reasonings are correct, we have the following definite dates:—

A.D. 722. Birth of Vijaya-Varman I.

A.D. 737. Defeat and death of Īśvara-varman and Vijaya-Vikrama. Accession of Vijaya-Varman in Baltistan and Vijaya-Kīrti in Khotan.

¹ The personal name of Vijaya-Varman is given *infra* (p. 224, n. 1, folk-etymology ?) as equivalent to Tibetan *Dpah-sbed* = "Hero hidden" (?).

² I learn from Dr. Giles that *Kuei* may be an error for *K'uei*, cf. p. 126

- A.D. 739. Birth of Vijaya-Varman's two sons, Vijaya-Varman II and Vijaya-Kīrti II.
- A.D. 741. (?) Defeat of Vijaya-Varman I by Vijaya-Kīrti I.
- A.D. 742-745-6. Vijaya-Varman I in China. Tibetan invasion of Khotan.
- A.D. 746 (?). Return of Vijaya-Varman from China. Rab-ñes in Khotan. Production of the text, with advice to Vijaya-Varman to proceed to the country of the Gold Race.
- A.D. 747. Chinese success. Installation of Vijaya-Varman I as king of Khotan. [Murder of Vijaya-Kīrti I, pp. 232, 244 ?]
- A.D. 756. Departure of Vijaya-Varman to China. Vijaya-Kīrti I, or Vijaya-Varman II, appointed as his deputy.
- A.D. 786. Death of Vijaya-Varman I after thirty years' residence in China.

Rab-ñes, Vimalaprabhā, the Rākṣasī, or Upāsikā, Hu-śa

We have now to dwell a little upon the person and mission of the lady Rab-ñes, the source of all our information and the inspirer, if not the authoress, of the text. Some particulars have already been given (pp. 144 sqq.) of her family, her griefs, and of a sojourn with her husband in the Gold Country. Unfortunately we are not acquainted with the original form of her name : we cannot even be sure whether it was in the Balti language of that period or rather, like so many Khotan feminine names, Sanskritic.¹ It is not as a Balti princess, but as the Devī Vimalaprabhā, that she is clothed with authority for controlling a political situation and dictating religious measures.

Of all Vimalaprabhā's prior incarnations the most interesting, unquestionably, is that which was in the person of the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa (pp. 221-4).² The story is, indeed, a painful one. It was on account of a misdemeanour in the Deva-world that Vimalaprabhā became in the Gold Country the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa. Moreover, the Lay-worshipper

¹ Sudhruvā ? Suniścitā ?

² On this name, and also the name *Nu-sar*, see *infra*, p. 177.

Hu-śa was a female demon, a Rākṣasī, and worse. With five hundred companions she entertained, not chastely, the merchants who came to traffic for the gold of the Gold Mountain, only to imprison and devour them when fresh companies arrived.¹ This is not all. While in pursuit of the escaping merchants, the Rākṣasī, easing herself of her garment, was revealed as a great, earless, furry thing, which in the Deva-world had on one occasion taken shape as a cat and had been punished by privation of ears. The laughter of the captured merchant—carried, with his companions, in the petticoat slung over her shoulder—at so powerful a being deprived of its ears was the dénouement of the curse. Relieved of the demon shape and restored to heaven, the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa left to her little daughter Hu-śa, child of the caravan-leader Hog-pa-can, the duty of formulating religious observances for the Gold Race and becoming to it a divinity. The children of the other five hundred merchant-Rākṣasī pairs became the progenitors of the Gold Race, while their demoness mothers remained as the tutelary divinities of the country.

If one should seek, as in a dream, to see, and feel, the ogress turn into a furry, earless cat, and then into a Deva figure in the sky, it would be helpful to realize more definitely the presentations of the two former. All that we are told, however, is contained in the statement, "letting go the merchants and taking position in the sky, she said, 'Because of ears the name of this country shall be Gold Race.' " In Indian stories cats sometimes have names (*Dadhikarna*, etc.) containing the word "ear"; and at the west of ancient Bengal there was a kingdom *Karna-suvarṇa*, "Ear-gold," which does seem to connect ears with gold. In the Himalayan fastnesses, a thousand miles from Bengal, the languages would in general denote the "ear" either by some derivative

¹ The story is evidently related to that of the Ceylon *Yakṣiṇī*, told in the Pali *Jātaka* (No. 196, *Valāha*), the *Mahāvamsa*, vii, 8 sqq., and elsewhere (Hiuan-Tsang (Beal), ii, pp. 240 sqq.; (Julien), iii, pp. 131 sqq.).

of Sanskrit *karna*, or by some form akin to the Tibet *rna*, or by some derivative of Iranian *gauša*¹: for "gold" we have Indo-Āryan *suvarṇa*, *son*, etc., Tibetan *śer*, *zer*, etc., Iranian *zar*, *sra*, *tillā*, etc. None of these suggests an explanation of the geographical names *Bal-ti* (*Sbal-ti*), *Skar-rdo* or *Darada*; and, in fact, it is obvious that what the Rākṣasī said was "Because of ears this shall be called 'the ear-country'", and that the Tibetan translator has simply substituted the ordinary current name of the region. Looking a little closer, we see that "the ear-country" is in fact *Nagar*. The second part of this name, *gar*, which is perhaps fundamentally the same as Tibetan *sgar*, *gar*, "encampment," was, no doubt, widely used in Tibeto-Burman dialects. In the western Himalayan countries we have it probably in a number of names, such as *Zaṅs-dkar* (*Zanskar*) and *Pho-dkar*, *Tigar* (Karakoram), *Mīsgar* (Hunza),² *Khab-gar* (Citrāl), *Gur-sgar* (Purig), Baltistan itself supplying, perhaps, two in the designations of its capital *Skar-rdo* and the principality *Śi-sgar* (*Śi-dkar*, *Śi-gar*). From Chinese Turkestan we may cite *Kashgar* and *Pho-dkar*; and in the Tibetan name for India, *Rgya-gar*, we may perhaps recognize an equivalent not of *dkar*, "white," but of *gar*, *sgar*, in the sense of place, *dvīpa* or *varṣa*. The syllable *na*, with the meaning "ear", being widespread in Tibeto-Burman speech, a folk-etymology *na-gar* = "place of ears" was self-suggesting.

We may here refer to the various other indications in the text which confirm the inference that the name of the Gold Country was present to the minds of the authors as *Nagara*. The first king had been in a previous existence the city-ward (*nagara-rakṣa*, *nāgaraka*, *nāgarika*) of King Ajātaśatru:

¹ For lists see Sir G. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. i, pt. ii, pp. 64-5.

² Is this name identical with the *Me-skar* in the Khotan area, which we have found (pp. 59, 81, 100) associated with *Mdo-lo*? The above names are cited from Drew, op. cit., pp. 539-44, Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, etc.

his son, who was to be regent of the Gold Country, had been a son of that city-ward (p. 200, n. 1). The prediction of the Tathāgata Ratnagarbha, which is prominent in the text, takes place on his entry into the, otherwise not specified, "city" (*nagara-praveśa*, p. 218), which was perhaps a favourite scene in the western Himalayan region.¹ The monk in the story of the woman's son is named Nagarabhadra (p. 243). Such preoccupation with the city (*nagara*) in a text replete with folk-etymology seems to receive explanation when we recognize that the city envisaged was actually named Nagar.

The legend would, however, be more fully explained if the name *Nagar* could be brought into connection with not merely "ears", but an "earless cat". A general resemblance to a cat, combined with very reduced size of ears, may be seen in the large Tibetan marmot, *Arctomys Himalayensis*, which has dimensions "head and body 22 to 24 inches, tail without hair 5 to 5·5 inches, with hair 6 to 6·5 inches", "Colour of body and limbs pale tawny, much mixed with black on the upper parts; basal half of fur (basal third on belly) dark brown, terminal half pale fulvous, with black tips on the upper parts; face and terminal third of tail dark brown; cheeks sometimes rufescent" (Blanford, *Fauna of British India*, i, pp. 388-9; for an illustration see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. Marmot). The distribution of this marmot is defined as "Tibet north of the main Himalayan chain, from the neighbourhood of Lhasa to Ladak and the Kuen-Lun. It is common in Rukshu and Ladak at elevations of from about 13,000 or 14,000 feet to 18,000" (Blanford, *ibid.*, p. 389). In Skar-rdo "the moraines are full of marmots"²; and some species exists in Hunza-Nagar,³ where there is also a story of a man turning into a marmot.⁴

¹ Leitner saw such a scene represented on a Buddhist monument: see *infra*, p. 218, n. 1, and p. 241.

² Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³ Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁴ Communication from Colonel D. G. R. Lorimer.

A connection between the marmot and the syllable *na* may perhaps be traceable. The Burushaski *ainaq* may not at once prove helpful; but in the year A.D. 717 the Chinese court received from the king of Khotan "an animal of the species *na[k]*", whereof, as Chavannes remarks,¹ the dictionary of Kang-hi gives most puzzling descriptions. It seems to be described as having no forelegs, being like a badger, of a blue-black colour, and a rat-catcher. The imperfect development of the forelegs is, no doubt, a point of resemblance to the marmot, which is, moreover, characterized by having only a "rudimentary first front toe".² The catching of rats suggests rather an ichneumon or mongoose, for which the Sanskrit name is *nakula*, while the Tibetan *nehu-le* will be a diminutive of *na*; but the Tibetan *nehu-le* is partly "a fabulous animal, cat-like and vomiting jewels"³; and for the *na[k]* in question an identification with the ichneumon seems excluded by the fact that this creature also was received by the Chinese court as a present from Kipin or from Persia, but with the name *ju-t'o*.⁴ The particular as to catching rats may be due to the comparison with the cat or may be an acquisition of the marmot, as of the ichneumon. It seems likely that the syllable *na* or *nak* may originally, in some Himalayan speech, have denoted the marmot and that it may have been applied in India to the rather similar, but smaller, creature, the ichneumon, *nakula*.

In regard to the gold-digging ants of Herodotus there seems to be little possibility of doubt.⁵ The Greek word *μύρμηξ*,

¹ Op. cit., p. 127, n. 2.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, loc. cit.

³ S. C. Das, *Tibetan Dictionary*, s.v.

⁴ Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 131, 172, 313.

⁵ The identification of the "gold-digging ants" with the marmot may possibly have originated with the editors of the Greek texts; certainly it was propounded by Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (i, p. 850; i², pp. 1020-1). The suggestion of Schiern *Über den Ursprung der Sage von den Goldgrabenden Ameisen*, 1873, endorsed by Ball, *Scientific Proceedings of the R. Society of Dublin*, 1880, pp. 544-6, and *Indian Antiquary*, xiii (1884, p. 230), that "Tibetan miners and their mastiffs" are meant,

indeed, despite its assonance with *marmot*, *murmeltier*, etc. (*murem montis*), is rightly explained as a translation of the Sanskrit *pipīlika*, "ant" and "a kind of gold supposed to be collected by ants". But the burrowings of the marmots in the sides of the Gold Mountain or on the plains (e.g. of Deosai) are too patently appropriate in connection with the story of the gold-digging ants to allow of hesitation. Moreover, the Sanskrit name for the gold, received, no doubt, from Himalayan Tibeto-Burmans, may itself contain the marmot's name: the word *pipīlika* recalls the Tibetan *phyi* or *phyi-bi*, "the large marmot found throughout Tibet," Lepcha *chi-wa* (*phyi-ba*), etc.¹ It may also be remarked that the "gold-digging ant" was evidently regarded, like the *na[k]*, as a curiosity acceptable to foreign courts, since Herodotus informs us (iii, 102) that some specimens were actually in the possession of the Persian king.

The name "marmot-place", "marmot-district", is not at all improbable for a region where marmots were plentiful; and we may suspect that it exists rather widely in the various *Phyi-glins* (compare *Skyin-glün*, "Ibex-district") which may be seen on the maps of Western Tibet.

The teaching of the story of the Upāsikā Hu-śa seems to be this:—The Gold Country, originally ruled in fact by women, had worshipped an Ogress Hu-śa and her associates: the ogress was sometimes conceived in a marmot form. The time came for even so secluded a people to be tamed, like Udyāna and all the neighbouring countries, by Buddhism and to receive a Buddhist civilization, whereof remains exist, after all the

seems to be excluded by the reference in Herodotus to the specimens seen by him in Persia and by the statement of Nearchus (Strabo, xv, 44, and Arrian, i, 15) that he had seen skins of them. The pieces of flesh set out to attract the attention of the ants (Megasthenes, fr. 39, ap. Strabo and Arrian, locc. cit.) may be related to those mentioned in our text (pp. 207, 234).

¹ It will be observed that this etymological explanation of the term *pipīlika*, which is given by Cunningham in his *Ladak* (pp. 232-4), removes the difficulty expounded by Laufer in *Die Sage von den gold-grabenden Ameisen* (*T'oung pao*, 1908, pp. 429-52), concerning the early origin and spread of the story, the source being, no doubt, India.

Huna and Musalman devastations, down to the present day.¹ The ogress became the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa : installed in a temple on the Gold Mountain (p. 224), her priestesses, perhaps incarnations, gave laws spiritual and temporal to the country. Her position might be in part analogous to that of the Vajra-vārāhī, the incarnate "Sow" Lamaess of the Yam-dok monastery in Tibet. It must have been as assuming, invested with, this status that the princess Rab-ñes proclaimed her mission to the Gold Country, to Baltistan and to Khotan.

Rab-ñes in Khotan : her mission : her Buddhism

How then does Rab-ñes come to be in the Khotan country and especially concerned therefor ? There is a passage in the text (p. 254) which is evidently significant in this connection. It reads—

" At what time the Red-Faces and the Chinese shall fight, at that time may we cause the Li country haply not to perish : and at what time people who have renounced the world shall have come from other countries into the Li country, may we cause them to be in no way without honour ; and beings who flee there from other countries may we cause to obtain there a settlement and to pay ransom for the Li country, in order that the great *stūpas* and retreats of the Saṃghas, burned by the Red-Faces, may with their assistance be restored ; and may we cause them with the Chinese mutually to give and receive brides."

As we have had occasion to note (*supra*, p. 78), it was a period when Buddhist communities from various adjacent countries were seeking refuge in Khotan : the arrival of Rab-ñes is somewhat exactly dated, since we can see (p. 143) that it took place some three or more years before the time (A.D. 746) when the Pamir-Gilgit expedition of the Chinese was expected, but had not yet been realized.

It was therefore as the head of a refugee religious community

¹ Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 154 ; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 20.

from the Gold Country and a successor of the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa that Rab-ñes was residing in Khotan. She engaged in religious exercises on behalf of the country, and in the course of them she conceived a mission. She became not merely the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa, but also the Bodhi-sattva Vimala-prabhā, daughter of king Ajātaśatru. It might be suggested that Vimala-prabhā and her brother the Kumāra Vajrasena were, to use a blunt expression, invented for the occasion. But we have had this pair mentioned in another text¹; and a Devī Vimala-prabhā, who accepts birth as a woman, appears in a *Mahāmegha-Sūtra* translated into Chinese c. A.D. 414 (M. Demiéville, BÉFEO, 1924, pp. 225-9).

It is not necessary to suppose that the design, despite its somewhat too precise details, was nothing but an imposture.² On the contrary, the psychology of the matter is of great interest, and the story of Vimala-prabhā may be styled the Romance, and she the Joan of Arc, of Khotan and the adjacent regions. Like the heroism which had carried the early Buddhism missions into, and through, the most remote and savage Himalayan fastnesses, the pious faith of their successors appears both in extravagant and in sober forms. Even in relatively late stages of the literature the philanthropic and self-abnegating sentiment has a genuine ring. The scrupulousness and candour with which the misfortunes of the persons in the text, friends and foes, are derived from faults in earlier lives is thoroughly Indian. The Buddha himself admits (p. 242-3) in his own past a fault, involuntary, it is true, as the original cause of the misfortunes of his followers in Khotan. The monks whose gardens and shrines are laid waste, the rulers and the freebooters, and those whose treasure is demanded for the country's ransom, are all making good their old offences (p. 244). Even the conquerors and devastators, the Tibetans and Sum-pas and their kings, derive their

¹ *Supra*, pp. 94-6. Moreover, we have to take account of the other text mentioned above (p. 139), the *Vimala-prabhā-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*.

² The financial suggestion of the "Treasure of Gems" in her title (p. 145) is an unfortunate feature of religious propaganda.

strength from ancient injuries, in no wise present to their minds (pp. 242-3). Furthermore, it is consonant with Buddhist principle, and probably with its history, though curious to note, that the persons concerned are to be persuaded by the revelation of the facts and saved through that knowledge (p. 242). It seems quite likely that the freebooters who were on the side of Vijaya-varman and whose prior life-experience is narrated had been in fact "converted" by Vimalaprabhā.

To the feminist preoccupation of the text some reference has already been made. There are *dhāraṇīs* to assist women in trouble, disease, and childbirth; and there is one which averts rebirth in feminine shape (p. 211). But, despite a note of commiseration, there is no lack of conscientious severity. Woman in general is not set in an ideal light. "The mind of a woman, it is said (p. 195), is known to the Buddha: that is enough." "Women, having minds impassioned with desire, in desiring superiority are exceedingly ignorant and covetous" (p. 245). "Even women shall become modest and reflecting upon the evils of life and avoiding other men" (pp. 245-6). Like the other personages, the women owe their misfortunes, including their femininity, to the errors of their past existences. But "there are women who even perform the acts of Buddhahood"; and to show this the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī even appears as a woman (p. 245). The time has come for one born as a woman to attain the Great Compassion, and this is to be achieved by Vimalaprabhā herself. She has "for the salvation of living beings taken births inexhaustible among women, becoming a queen, a queen's daughter, an ordinary woman, a harlot, a wretched woman, a poor woman", and therein has done "good to those born as women and effected salvation of women" (pp. 249-250). At the moment when she first fully realizes her mission she makes the great aspiration (pp. 220-1) that, so long as work ordained for her remains, she may appear in the form of a woman like other women, subject to passion, wrath, and

delusion, until the time comes for her to remember her former lives and act as a protector in the Li country. After that in every life may she be born a woman, whether among Devas or men, and each time remember her former existences. When the time comes for dying from the life wherein she has received the commands of Buddha, may she be born *in a world where there is not even the name of woman*. Thence returning, may she work at all times for the salvation of suffering beings, until Maitreya comes. Thus for the good of suffering mortals Vimalaprabhā in the greatness of her Bodhi-sattva renunciation embraces for an incalculable series of lives the state of womanhood. In these passages the northern Buddhist literature, which occasionally gives expression to undating sentiments, strikes a chord which curiously associates the ogress women and ruling priestesses of the "Women's kingdom" with the rather plaintive tones of the Pali *Therī-gāthā*, and even with sentiments expressed at various times in other parts of the world. We may also note the possibility that in Khotan, an old centre of religious attraction and ripe civilization, but not a highly military state, the conception of a feminine Bodhi-sattva, a self-abnegating woman saviour, may have been one for which society was somewhat prepared.¹

It is not, however, only in regard to women that the philanthropy, or charity (*maitrī*), of Buddhism is manifested in the text. Like the scrupulous candour with which all the personages are made responsible for their own misfortunes, the wish for a happy settlement seems to be applied all round (pp. 212, 242, 244). Some expressions of this character have been already cited, and we need only recur to the good intentions manifested in regard to the proposed villain of the plot (p. 212): which intentions were in the sequel, if Vijaya-Kirti is really the Wei-ch'ih Yao to whom Wei-ch'ih Shêng resigned his throne, actually realized.

¹ Regarding the status and morals of Khotan women see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 139, 140, 142, and the statement concerning Kučā and Khotan given by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 115. On the freedom and happiness of women in modern Hunza-Nagal see *The Times*, 24th December, 1934, p. 11.

There is one passage (p. 245) in the text which attracts attention by its originality in Buddhist, if not in all, religious literature. It conceives a mysterious emissary of religion, penetrating society in manifold guises, "having a form in all points answering all desires and with an aspect corresponding to the nature of a Bodhi-sattva, with the appearance of a king, a queen, a recluse, a Brahman, he will everywhere enter among the beings who belong to the realm of desire. A paṇḍit of music [and acting], learned in the departments of music [and acting], he will display, as it were, all varieties of form"—among others that of a woman. This is the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī. And we are told how Vimalaprabhā will be one of those forms, and how she will distribute relics and make them into an object of worship. "Then within the city it shall be pleasant as a home. Haply the people, as many as abide in that city, shall accomplish merits and shall display seriousness and devoutness and cheerfulness and haply shall fix upon that course of life." This somewhat uplifted spirit in Khotan Buddhism during the middle of the eighth century A.D. calls to mind the fact that to the same period belongs the activity of the Saint Padmasambhava, born in the same western Himālayan regions, in the country of Udyāna, or Swat, who in all the surrounding districts propagated a Buddhism of the same character as is revealed by our text, and who in Tibet, as exorciser of the old native demons and founder of the Lamaist form of Buddhism, is for all sects nearly the greatest figure in their pantheon.

The Buddhism of Vimalaprabhā is indeed of a degraded order. It is a matter of *dhāraṇīs* (religious charms), amulets, *maṇḍalas*, and magic rituals; and it makes concessions in regard to flesh-eating, abstinences, and easy remissions of sin (pp. 186, 247). She herself is to be shown forth by a concentration above her head of those wonderful Buddha-lights which were associated with the origin of the country. Archæology, so far as is known, has not yet unearthed in Khotan any representation of such a divine figure. But that some success

attended the propaganda initiated by Rab-n'es is evident from the fact that the *Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā* is cited as an authority, along with the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, in the *Annals of the Li Country*, and that in the Tibetan canon it has a place as a *sutra* (cf. pp. 187-8, 203, 251, etc.) of Buddha. Some incoherences in its structure (e.g. pp. 192, n. 2; 195, n. 2, 224, n. 4, 227, 228, 231-3, 249, nn. 1, 3) may be evidence of hasty composition or confirm an impression of excitement or disorder in the mind of the authoress, inspired perhaps by the example of the Empress Wu-Tsö-t'ien (A.D. 690).

Ethnical Character of the Baltis and the Gold Race

It is obvious that our text gives new prominence to the question of the ethnical position of the Balti people. They are sometimes regarded as racially akin to the Tibetans of Ladak. But they show physical differences, and an intermixture with their western neighbours, the Dards, has been suggested.¹ Recently an opposite view has been propounded.² This question is unsuitable for discussion here. On a previous occasion it has been suggested³ that there was some early ethnical connection between the peoples of the western Himālaya and Khotan: this would antedate the arrival of Dard race and speech, and would cover the people of Baltistan, the Gilgit (Bru-sa) area, and the Gold Race.

The Tibetan name of Baltistan, which occurs perhaps in a document mentioned *supra* (p. 151, n. 3), is *Sbal-ti*. The name is still properly applied to the country (Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 34; Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, ii, p. 193) rather than to the inhabitants; it contains a suffix *tī*, meaning "district",⁴ which we have previously (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 262; *JRAS.* 1926, p. 392) noted as exemplified in Khotan

¹ See Drew, *op. cit.*, pp. 356 sqq.

² Di Filippi, *Spedizione . . . nel Himālaya Caracoram*, 1913-14, pp. 88-90.

³ *JRAS.* 1926, p. 392.

⁴ Or is it W. Himalayan *tī* "water"? *tīr* is, no doubt, primarily Locative.

(*Hgum-ti*, *Sañ-ti*, *Dro-ti*) and which may be recognized in many names of localities in the western Himalayas, *Spyi-ti*, *Nūn-ti*, *Lin-ti*, etc., Baltistan itself supplying two, viz. *Sak-ti* and *Rtol-ti*. The syllable *bal*, as part of the name, may be old, since it may appear in Ptolemy's *Bultai*; but that it is reflected in the "Great P'o-lü" (Hiuan-Tsang's *Po-lu-lo*) of the Chinese or in the designation of the peoples of Nagar and Baltistan as *Balots*, *Paloye*, or *Palole* (Cunningham, loc. cit.; Leitner, *The Hunza and Nagar Handbook*, 78), is by no means certain, since these may be derived from the Chinese name, which, as it reappears in the "Polur" of the Khotan district (*olim* Brusala, *supra*, p. 100 and n. 7), may represent *Bru*. For other names, *Nan-god* (Cunningham, p. 34 and n.), etc., see *infra*, p. 271, n. 5, and Pt. II, p. 148.

In considering a Tibeto-Burman affinity on the part of the Gold Race, the Kingdom of Women, note may be taken of the rather similar institutions of the "Kingdom of the Eastern Women", on the Tibeto-Chinese, south-eastern, frontier.¹ A language of the Nagar territory may have been known to the Tibetans under the designation *Nāgara*, mentioned along with the speech of *Rākṣasas* and *Asuras*.²

The Hunza-Nagar country is mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang by the same name as Baltistan, viz. *Po-lu-lo*. It is certainly included in the *Balur* of Mirza Haidar (*supra*, p. 153, n. 2), who distinguishes it from Baltistan, and in the *Bolor* of Marco Polo and other writers (*Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, i, p. 178). In the name of the Hunza capital, *Baltit* (cf. *Altit* in the same region) the same syllable should probably be recognized (the name being due to the Baltis, who built the castle³). It looks as if the name *Bal-* were originally shared by the three populations.

The native name of the "Gold Race", Sanskrit *Suvarṇa-gotra*, Tibetan *Gser-rigs*, is not recorded. It cannot on the

¹ See Bushell, *JRAS.* 1880, p. 492.

² Laufer, *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, p. 4.

³ See Curzon, *The Pamirs*, p. 7.

basis of any Indian or Central Asian speech be equated clearly to *Bal* (Dravidian *pon*, *bañ(gāra)*, etc., "gold," are too remote, and the Burushaski word is *ṛiniš*, cf. Chinese, etc., *kin*). Hence it seems necessary to operate with the widespread Tibeto-Burman *ser*, *gser*, *jer*, etc., and to posit as the name of the people **Ser*, **Ser-za*, or the like. Such a name has a fair probability, since in Sarikkol we have evidence (*infra*, Pt. II, p. 281) for an ethnical name *Tsha-ser* or *Rgya-ser*, and the syllable *ser* may in the names of the Karakoram mountains *Gusherbrum* and *Masherbrum*, and in that of the *Sa-ser* station (*brañ-sa*) on the Karakoram route have the same significance. But it is curious that we have the two names *Bal* and *Ser* side by side in approximately the same area.

The name of the Rākṣasī Hu-śa may survive in that of the Balti village Hu-she (Godwin-Austen, op. cit., p. 20), and her original name *Ñu-sar* (*infra*, p. 191, n. 2) in that of the Nushik pass, the most practicable means of communication between Baltistan and the Nagar territory (Conway, op. cit., pp. 241, 348). The *form* of the name recalls that of Gilgit, *Bru-śa* or *Bru-śal*, the Burushaski word *bushai* "village", and that of the country *Wu-sha*, mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang and identified by Sir A. Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 42-5) with Yangi-Hisār, north-west of Khotan. The *śal* in *Bru-śal* we have found in *Gomasala* of Khotan, and the *-l-* suffix was already attached to the word *Bru-so-lo-ña* when it designated a place in Khotan territory (*supra*, p. 100). The same syllable is clearly recognizable in several Nagar village names, *Boroshal*, *Ghoshoshal*, *Holshal*, *Hakalshal* (Leitner, op. cit., p. 73; Conway, op. cit., p. 289), and in that of the Shimshal pass, the easiest route from Nagar territory to Chinese Turkestan. Thus there is a fair amount of philological evidence, agreeing with the historical evidence furnished by the text in favour of active connections between Baltistan, the Hunza-Nagar territory, and Khotan: in the Nagar area Balti colonies are known (Conway, op. cit., p. 243). If the original language of these territories was of the Tibeto-

Burman family, and if, as we have suggested (*supra*, p. 159), the political conditions indicate that the Hunzas are an intrusive element in the Hunza-Nagar area, it seems possible that the "Burushaski" or Khajuna language may be in the main a form of speech imported by them. The isolated and remote situation of the country, which has naturally been regarded as an argument for an indigenous character in the language, is greatly compromised by the early activity of the gold traffic recorded by the Greeks and now familiarly noted by our text.

But, whatever the original ethnical difference between Hunza on the one hand and Nagar and the Baltistan on the other, it seems likely that the Baltistan dynasty was of Huna origin. For in the Chinese name, Su-lin-t'o-i-che (*supra*, p. 160), i.e. Su-lin-t'o Īśa, of the king whom we have identified with the Īśvara-varman of our narrative, the syllables *Su-lin-t'o* can hardly, as Chavannes suggested, represent Sanskrit *Surendra*, which is not known in Sanskrit royal titles: it may be identical with the title *So-lien-tiu* (cf. *So-lien-khan*, "Emperor divinely sacred") borne by a Juan-juan king (De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, i, p. 188).

The use of such Juan-Juan titles would be in consonance with the circumstance that during the same period the allied family of Khotan was employing a title (*Fu-tu* = *Bogdo*) which was probably (*infra*, Pt. II, pp. 291-2) of the same provenance.

TRANSLATION

THE INQUIRY OF VIMALAPRABHĀ¹

In the language of India—

Bi-ma-la-pra-bha-ba(sic)-pa-ri-prūṣṭshā
(*Vimalaprabhā-paripṛcchā*).

In the language of Tibet—

Dri-ma-med-paḥi-hod-kyis-žus-pa.

CHAPTER² I

Hail to the Omniscient !

When the Buddha, the Holy One, at the time of delivering the *Candragarbha-sūtra*,³ [had] committed all the lands of Jambū-dvīpa to their several tutelaries, from his station on mount Grdhra-kūṭa he emitted a light for an assembly of all the Devas. Then upon the instant of the Holy One's conceiving the thought all the Deva kings with their retinues appeared seated in the presence of the Holy One. Then, calling to the Great King Vaiśravaṇa and the Yakṣa lord Saṃjaya,⁴ the Holy One pronounced : " Great Kings, do according to my religious command and honour it. When from my *parinirvāṇa* one hundred years shall have elapsed, there shall arise a country named Li ; that country I commit for its protection into your hands.⁵ O King Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjaya, of the great miracles, and Nāga king Anavatapta, and Deva-son Sūthiramati,⁶ listen to my words. This country is disciplined⁷ by the power of the Jīna and by no other. Those beings who have not [hitherto] been disciplined by me shall take birth

340a

¹ " Inquiry concerning V." would seem not less appropriate ; but the Tibetan translator understood " by ". In such titles *paripṛcchā* (cf. *parikathā*) may imply " all about ".

² *bam-po*.

³ See *supra*, pp. 45-6.

⁴ *Kun-tu-rgyal* : see *supra*, p. 20, n. 1.

⁵ From this point to 341b. 7 the speeches are in verses of seven syllables.

⁶ *Blo-rab-briān* : see *supra*, pp. 94, etc. (*Sūthira*°).

⁷ *ḥdul*. The idea concerning Khotan recurs *infra* p. 257.

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CHAPTER² I

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¹ " Inquiry concerning V. " would seem not less appropriate ; but the Tibetan translator understood " by ". In such titles *paripṛcchā* (cf. *parīkathā*) may imply " all about ".

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⁶ *Blo-rab-brtan* : see *supra*, pp. 94, etc. (*Susthira*°).

⁷ *hādul*. The idea concerning Khotan recurs *infra* p. 257.

in the Li kingdom, in a city predicted by Buddha. By virtue of the great pains which I endured for the sake of Buddhahood and the many great aspirations which I made this land, through the accumulations of merits therefrom, has become my sign manual¹: at peace in my *nirvāṇa*, I will commit it to you. When through my kindness this Li country shall
 3406 come into being, then in an agreeable place there, on the hill Hgu-ma-ti,² at a *dharma-rāja stūpa*, the Buddhas of the Good Æon will assemble.³ That land I give to you for its adornment.”⁴

The king Vaiśravaṇa petitioned the Holy One: “Master, though the command of the Buddhas is not to be [questioned],⁵ this task commanded by the highest Jina is exceeding difficult. While the teacher, the Holy One, is with us, the countries and districts are at strife: since, even while you expound the good religion, the safeguarding of them is exceedingly desirable,⁶ when the Teacher has passed away—in the realms of the Deva world the Devas and other tutelaries are heedless of commands—how can we say? Moved by compassion for us, expound to us, we pray, such religion that, hearing it, all the Devas will act according to your command. As to that command of the Buddha heroes, it has on earth no basis⁷: where beings have not come into existence, this task is exceeding hard: how are we there, O Holy One, to safeguard?
 341a The Buddhas behold the Three Times; they have the eye of omniscient knowledge: therefore, O Jina, Best of Beings, we expressly desire⁸ this task. Accordingly we will accept the

¹ *phyag-mtshan*: see *supra*, p. 13, n. 6.

² This is not properly the name of the hill itself: see *supra*, p. 6.

³ Read *hdu* for *hdu*.

⁴ *yoṅs-su-bskyed* = *pariṣkāra*: but perhaps “*bskyan* [sic B.M.], “protect,” was intended.

⁵ *geig-tu-run-ba-ma-lags-te*: the verse omits the main idea, “to be questioned.” Or translate “the command is quite unreasonable?”

⁶ *dkon* (Sk. *durlabha*): Euphemistic for *dkaḥ* “difficult”.

⁷ This means, apparently, that the land of Khotan, to which the Buddha's command applies, does not yet exist.

⁸ *mo-chid-ba-ṅs-htshal*.

trust. So that we may accomplish the task already commanded by the Jina, we beg for a blessing. In the city foretold by the Jina will appear, as Bodhi-sattvas previously foretold by the Jina and in noble guise taking their pledges,¹ monks one hundred and thirteen, nuns two hundred. Those five hundred who formerly made aspiration for evil deeds, the party of Do-evil,² also will appear, and in order to obstruct Do-good will take birth in those lands. Also those friends of Do-good, having taken birth in the Li land, will in the lands foretold by the Jina do good deeds. That in this land we will duly be, and that we desire the opportunity of in any way taking it in hand, we proffer, O Holy One, our pledge.”³

Thereupon the Holy One spoke: “The best of pledges has been given.⁴ O lord of Yakṣas, for the purpose of safeguarding the land at all times do you at my command receive 3416 this auspicious abode of Bodhi-sattvas. When that land shall arise, like the fair garden of the Devas,⁵ flourishing with retreats of Saṃghas, made auspicious with *gandha-kutīs*, there shall be also hermitages like to Sukhāvātī, full of monks and nuns: they shall teach the highest Vehicle. While doing the works of good men, the beings born in this auspicious abode of Bodhi-sattvas shall have Buddhahood for their goal.⁶ As long as the doctrine of the Lord of Sages shall be secure and honoured in that land, so long shall the lands also be secure. If the doctrines are not honoured, the tutelaries

¹ *gzugs-bzan-sdom-pa-hdzin-pa*? “Taking worthy pledges”?

² Concerning the story of Do-good and Do-evil, which is the subject of several allusions in the text, see the articles by Chavannes in *T'oung pao*, xv (1914), pp. 469-500; Professor Pelliot in *T'oung pao*, xvi (1915), pp. 224-72, *La Version Ouigoure de l'Histoire des Princes Kalyāṇamkara et Pāpamkara*; and the references there given to I. J. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, pp. 262-82; Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales* (trans. Ralston), pp. 279-85; Chavannes, *Cinque Cent Contes*, ii, pp. 389-97; Rockhill, *JAO.S.* xviii (1897), p. 3; Huart, *JAS.* 1914, i, pp. 5-57.

³ *ci-nas-gzun-bahi-thabs-htshal*.

⁴ *dam-pahi-mchog-sbyin-par-byas*.

⁵ Read *lha-yi* for *lha-yis*, confusion of Genitive and Instrumental being common in this text, as in others.

⁶ *byan-chub-phyir-ni-sno-bar-byed*.

will be offended: they will abandon the land to decay and depart with offended minds. When the tutelaries have departed and the Devas have fled the land, disease and famine will there be a danger,¹ and the kings also will be short-lived. The tutelaries, altogether estranged, will bring the armies also to nought."

When the Best of Jinas had thus pronounced to the Devas, thereupon the Holy One sank absorbed in the trance called "Light-like".² From the juncture³ of his brows came forth the lights called "Tathāgata-form".⁴ From those lights emerged lights measureless, innumerable, which penetrating into all Buddha-realms, in whatever Buddha-realms abode Holy Buddhas, there arose voices inquiring thus: "O Deva-beyond-Devas, Holy One, Śākya-muni, is there little of ill⁵ or of inquietude?"⁶ Thus came the answer: "For the sake of Buddhahood I have during many an æon done arduous things. For the purpose of building up the good religion I have surrendered many bodies: I have given many gifts: I have endured exceeding many pains not suffered by other Bodhi-sattvas. Thereby I have won Supreme Enlightenment. Having now fallen upon the time and occasion for my *parinirvāṇa*, I have committed the lands of all the Jambūdvīpas, for their safeguarding, into the hand of tutelaries.⁷ O Devas, when after my *nirvāṇa* one hundred years shall have passed, there will be with the name Li land (a country) well endowed.⁸ The Buddhas of the Good Æon and the Bodhi-sattva protectors having been pledged to the disciplining [of it], there can be no hesitation.⁹ Taking birth in that city of the Li kingdom, the Buddhas of the Good Æon will shine like an eye. In order to mature the living beings, and to make them heedful of religion, they will perform the good

¹ *ñen-pa*.³ *gseb*.⁵ = Sk. *alpa-ābādha*.⁷ Verse (seven syllables) from here to 342b 6.⁸ *rab-tu-hbyor-ba*.² *Ḥod-zer-lta-bu*.⁴ *Tathāgata-rnam-pa*.⁶ *skyod-pa* = *kṣobha*.⁹ *rtog-ge* = *vicāra*.

actions of Buddhahood. Let the Buddhas think of me. Formerly, when I taught the great *Candragarbha-sūtra*, that best of *sūtras*, [you], with minds overborne by compassion, did for the sake of those who in that land should be tutelaries despatch *dhāraṇīs* and lights ; so now from all Buddha-realms let the best of Jinas send presents to the excellent Jinas born in this kingdom. For the protection of the doctrine do honour to me, well-pleased."

Those lights emitted by the protector, the Śākya Lion, having penetrated the Buddha-realms, came back to that same place. Then forthwith the Holy Buddhas abiding in all the Buddha-realms, in order that the doctrine of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, who desired to protect the Li land, 343a might be long established, despatched lights as presents and bestowed *dhāraṇīs*, and spoke thus : " The Holy Buddhas by whom the lights have been despatched and the *dhāraṇīs* bestowed into the hand of the Bodhi-sattvas, their titles are these, and these are the names of those Bodhi-sattvas " [343a 3-344a give the names of the Buddhas and Bodhi-sattvas together with the *dhāraṇīs* and a brief statement of the efficacy of these severally]. Then the Buddha, the Holy One, absorbed 344b in the "*Sūraṅgama*"¹ Trance, conceived in entirety, from the germ of the thought to the full attainment of the heart of Buddhahood, all his acts as a Bodhi-sattva and the form of his religion.²

Then for the sake of himself and for the sake of the Devas and the rest he gave them the country in trust.³ This *dhāraṇī* of the Devas, Brahmā and the rest, and of all the Devas is also to be uttered (344b 3-4, the *dhāraṇī*). Through this *dhāraṇī* Devas and men who acquire kingship will be free from injury by enemies and possessors of all lordship. Whoever shall become king in the Li land shall thus reflect : " This Li land, flourishing with people and men and estates

¹ *Dpañ-bar-hgro-ba*.

² Read *chos-lugs-par* (in place of "la-gus").

³ *yul-gtams-sin-gtado*.

full of men and abounding in cattle and grain of all kinds,¹ is the most excellent of all lands. Foreign armies cannot come here." Then in all the hermitages and retreats of Saṃghas and cities and hamlets and kingdoms and royal palace retinues he shall set monks and nuns and lay-worshippers, men and women, and all people of the land to recite, to retain, and to comprehend² the words of the secret utterances of the aforementioned *dhāraṇīs* : to those monks and nuns and lay-worshippers, men and women, and people dwelling in the land he shall, with flour and raiment and parasols and banners and flags and meat and drink of various sorts and works of honour in various ways and all necessities, show consideration and reverence and respect and honour. If this is done, the Li land will be free from all ills, and under that king the Li land will be beyond destruction by armies of all adversary kings.

Then from the Buddha-realms in the Ten Directions the Holy Buddhas sent out each his several title and light and words of secret utterances of *dhāraṇīs*. Then into the hands of Indra and Brahmā and the others, the thirty
345b and two Deva kings, and of the four World-regents, and of the Deva-son Saṃjaya and the others, and of the twenty and eight lords of Yakṣa hosts, and of the Bodhi-sattva Vimalaprabhā, and of the Bodhi-sattvas, two myriads, who worship the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gandha, and of the Nāga king Gdon-la-sñems-pa³ and the others, eighteen thousands, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, committed the Li land, abode of all the Bodhi-sattvas of the Good Æon, sign-manual of all the Holy Buddhas of the Good Æon, and the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gandha, abode of great Yoga-Rṣis, and the Saṃghas of monks and the nuns, for protection, for safeguarding, for freedom from mischief, for freedom from schism, and in order that the establishment of the Buddha in the Li land should be long established. Those⁴ Buddha-titles and those lights and those words of secret utterances

¹ *hbru-maṅ*.³ Grabagarya ?² *kun-chub*.⁴ *hdi-dag*, "these".

of *dhāraṇīs* having, with feeling swayed by compassion and with making of a great prayer, been bestowed as presents, accordingly, heeding the command of those Holy Buddhas, those Deva kings thirty and two, Indra and Brahmā and the 346a rest, and those World-regents, and those lords of Yakṣa-hosts, and those Nāga kings, and those Bodhi-sattvas, Vimala-prabhā and the rest, and all those retinues, with folded hands accepted that Li land and that *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gandha, abode of Yoga-Rṣis, and that doctrine of Buddha, for protection. They accepted for protection also those Buddha-titles and those lights and those words of secret utterances of *dhāraṇīs*. Also those lights became massed in the body of the Bodhi-sattva Vimalaprabhā [346a 4: *there follow the names of the Tathāgatas and the lights and the dhāraṇīs, the last-named with brief statements of their several efficacies, such as (1) quelling of foreign armies; (2) fullness of merits; (3) freedom from famine and poverty, attainment of all good desires, and discovery of treasures hidden under-* 349a *ground; (4) alleviation of all diseases, in particular of women's diseases. In one or two cases it is stated that austerities (brtūḥ) are not requisite, 349a 7]. The Holy Buddhas¹ by whom 349b those *dhāraṇīs* were proclaimed were those only who had helped the Holy One, Śākya-muni, during his career as a Bodhisattva. Those *dhāraṇīs* and Buddha-lights and Buddha-titles having been bestowed as presents with a view to the good of the many beings in the regions of the Sahā worlds of those Buddhas and in this Li land, sign-manual of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, and in order that, through the Bodhi-sattvas of the Good Āton there taking birth, and through those afore-mentioned Holy Buddhas, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, should be long established in the Li land, the Bodhi-sattva Ārya Avalokiteśvara—at the request of the sons of Buddha and for the sake of all beings, for the protection of the Li land and for the long establishment of the doctrine—took those gifts from the Holy Buddhas, and brought them here.²*

¹ Text here omits "whose names were mentioned above" (B.M.). ² *hdir.*

Also, in order that this Li land foretold by the Buddha might in no way be destroyed and that the teaching might be
 350a long established, the many Bodhi-sattvas abiding in the various Buddha-realms assembled here and took birth.

Whenever in that (*sic*) country ills arise, if those Buddha-names, those *dhāraṇīs*, and the rays above described are written out and set up at the gates of the city, and are borne along, inscribed on the banners ¹ of the army, with men set to recite them, there will be relief from injury by enemy hosts and from fear of famine, consummation of the party of good, and benefit to the people according to their desire. Against diseases also the people will have protection. Those who have very heavy sins should during twenty-one days mutter ² the names of the Buddhas and the *dhāraṇīs* and the lights, and remember the Holy Buddhas of the Ten Directions. Wherever there are *stūpas* containing relics or with images of Buddha, those who in the Three Times make muttering in the presence thereof will quickly fulfil all their desires on the side of good ;
 350b also the lights will be above them. Moreover, when enemy troops come, there must be muttering or reading out during seven days. Whatever it be, evils arising, or disease, or according as desired, there is to be muttering or ^{li}reading. Further, if reading is not possible, then there is to be muttering seven times over a cord, and then, if that is attached with seven knots, there will be relief from all ills. Cities at whose gates the Buddha-names and the *dhāraṇīs* and the lights are set up in writing cannot be conquered by foreign armies. If there is constant muttering, abstention from flesh ³ is not necessary, nor is abstention from other substances necessary.

Then to the Noble Youths who in the train of Buddha had renounced the world, and who had become very much alarmed and anxious, the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara spoke thus: "My Sons, be not anxious. For you there will arise in that country many Saṃgha-hermitages and *stūpas* with relics, *gandha-kutīs* erected by religious kings

¹ *ru-mtshon*.² *bzlas-brjod*: see p. 13, n. 5.³ *śa-spaṇ*.

and so forth. So long as in that country the doctrine of the Buddha, the Holy One, stands, there will come no kings capable of entirely ruining that country. Thus is it: so 351a long as, with the doctrine of Buddha maintained, the three cities, 'Nectarean'¹ the pleasant, and the city 'Hog's-colour',² and the 'Old City', do honour to all the Saṃghas and the *stūpa* of Buddha, Ka-bi-la-na,³ exists, they shall not be destroyed."

Then, calling to all the Sons of Buddha, the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara commanded: "Ho comrades, let all those Bodhi-sattvas, Devas and so forth, who engage in safeguarding the country, not abandon the country to decay, when unbelieving kings cause it to decline. If any, not heeding the Buddha's command, abandon the country in a time of its decline, let them during many æons be shut out from Supreme Enlightenment." And he gave them this *dhāraṇī* (351a 6-b1).

Then to those who were [to] become kings of the Li Country the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara appealed: "This now is your 351b *jātaka*.⁴ As you [shall] have done, and as you [shall] have abandoned body and life for the sake of the Three Gems, such is the work of the Sons of Buddha. You have done well. At what time fear of great enemies arises in the country, at that time this *sūtra* is to be recited, to be carried, to be worshipped. Then Sa-ha-ba-ti⁵ also will assist in allaying all alarms. For the safeguarding of the country this *sūtra*, written in due form, is to be set up⁶ in the king's palace; and outside the king's palace and everywhere at the gates

¹ *Dhār-ldan*: see *supra*, p. 91, n. 4, and Index.

² *Phag-gi-mishon*: This and the "Old City", *Gron-khyer-r* [B.M. s] *ñin-pa*, are not known as parts of the "five-town" city of Khotan.

³ i.e. the *stūpa* of Kapila (with the superfluous *na*, p. 92, n. 5), concerning which see *infra*, pp. 233, n. 5, 241-2. But is Kāśyapa (pp. 6, 15, etc.) meant? B.M. reads Ka-bi-na.

⁴ *skyes* = apparently, "the life that is to be yours." Read *khyod* (in place of *khyed*), as in the other clauses.

⁵ = Brahmā Sahampati?

⁶ *bañ* from *hchan-ba*.

of the towns it is likewise to be written and set up. In the high roads and streets and crossways and at junctions,¹ and also in the houses of the householders, it is to be placed. At what time it is much recited and taught and carried, at that time there is in that country freedom from epidemic disease and harms."

352a The Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara having so spoken, the Devas residing in the sky let fall a rain of Deva-flowers, clashed Deva-cymbals and beat great Deva-drums. Then all the Bodhi-sattvas and Devas and Nāga kings spoke as follows : " At what time those *dhāraṇīs* and those lights and those Buddha-names come into the country, at that time we will come, as formerly we came into the presence of the Holy One, Śākya-muni. For the safeguarding of the country we will give the *dhāraṇīs* to those kings, and will bestow upon them whatever pledge they ask."

352b Then a certain Bodhi-sattva in the form of a woman, who was in a world-region called, " Variouslly adorned with Illuminating Light,"² formed in the cognizance of the Tathāgata " Intuition Flowers All Expanded ",³ king of the constellation " Lotus-petal Immaculate ",⁴ aspiration as follows : " Haply may I go to the part of the Universe which is the realm of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, and there from that Holy One hear the religious writing named *Lotus of the Good Law*. Straightway⁵ may I accomplish for all living beings benefit and happiness and freedom from disease." Having formed this aspiration, the Bodhi-sattva passed away in death from that Buddha-realm and in a region of the Sahā Universe was born in the palace of king Ajātaśatru, as daughter of his chief consort, with the name Vimalaprabhā. Then the same,

¹ *sum-mdo* : so p. 55, n. 4.

² *Rnam-par-snañ-mdzad-kyi-hod-zer-gyis-so-sor-brgyan-pa* = *Prabhākara-jyotiḥ-pratibhāsita* (?)

³ *Mñon-par-śes-paḥi-me-tog-kun-tu-rgyas-pa* = *Abhijñā-kusuma-suvikāsa* (?)

⁴ *Padmaḥi-hḍab-ma-dri-ma-med-pa* = *Vimala-padma-pattra* (?)

⁵ *deñ*.

having become daughter of king Ajātaśatru, Vimalaprabhā by name, was joined to that assembly. Sitting there, she besought the Holy One, thus : " For the purpose of safeguarding the Li country, when from the *parinirvāṇa* of the Holy One it is one hundred years, may I too receive a command. When the lights formerly spoken of as emitted by Buddha, the Holy One, shall be set over me, may that *dhāraṇī* whereby all *dhāraṇīs* shall be realized be obtained by me, while in woman's form. When in the Li country great alarms arise, then, for the safeguarding of the country and in order to make the doctrine of long duration, may the Buddhas, the Holy Ones, think of me ; may they show me the means ; 353a may the Devas too give promises.¹ Thus may I there appear, in the form of an ordinary woman, like other human women. May I have those Buddha lights set over me.² Those *dhāraṇīs*, too, may I obtain for beings threatened³ with ills and laden⁴ with diseases and in sorrow, to relieve them of all sorrows. When those great kings are at strife with one another, and when the Red-Faces seize the kingdom of the Li country, may I there take birth as a woman. The Mahāyāna *sūtra* spoken by the Holy Buddhas, that *Lotus of the Good Law* also may I receive. May I realize the *dhāraṇīs* derived from that *sūtra*. For the disciplining of beings may I realize the Trance " All sounds realizing ". Through the religious writing, *Lotus of the Good Law*, may I bring benefit to all beings. To the Devas too who are tutelaries of the Li country may I render religious donations and works of worship. 353b This Mahāyāna *sūtra*, *Lotus of the Good Law*, and the temples⁵ whereby this *sūtra* is maintained and received, may these also be under my power."

Then the tutelaries, Vaiśravaṇa and the Rākṣasī Lam-dkon-ti,⁶ together with all her fellow Rākṣasīs, and Hāritī

¹ *dam-pa-stsol*.

² *ñen-pa*.

³ *lha-gan*.

² Read *bdag* (in place of *dag*).

⁴ *theḡs* : ? Read *thebs*, with B.M. ?

⁶ The Rākṣasī *Lam-d[B.M. ba-]kon-ti* is not otherwise known ; possibly she was the local ogress of the *Parish* Lam-ko-ña (*infra*, Pt. II, p. 177).

and her child, who were in that company, having heard the words of the Holy One and the Devī Vimalaprabhā, rose from their seats and with clasped hands thus petitioned : “ When this Devī takes birth in the Li country, then for her assistance may we also act as tutelaries and remember that the Mahāyāna *sūtra*, *Lotus of the Good Law*, and the kingdom of the Li country were received by you (*sic*) as a trust from the Buddha, the Holy One.”

Then the Deva-kings thirty and two, having heard that vow taken by that Devī, thus petitioned : “ At what time this Devī takes birth for the safeguarding of the Li country, at that time may we too, along with our retinues, lend assistance for the safeguarding of the country and in order that it may have all conceivable plenty.”

Then the Devī Vimalaprabhā, having risen from her seat and having arranged her upper robe over one shoulder,¹ knelt with
 354a her right knee on the ground, and, with clasped hands proffering a pledge to the Holy One, in the presence of the Holy One made aspiration : “ O Holy One, may I be minded towards all beings as to a child. Whatever I endeavour with earnestness, all that may I attain. May I be firm in body, firm in mind, serviceable to beings, fulfilling aspirations, earnest in mind for the sake of the country. Through the *sūtra*, *Lotus of the Good Law*, may I bring benefit to the beings ; and may I attain also to Trance.”

When the Devī had so spoken in the presence of the Holy One, then over the Holy One and the Devī Vimalaprabhā fell a rain of Deva-flowers.

² Vimalaprabhā Devī then

At the Jina's feet aspired :

“ In the Bodhisat's loved home,

In the Li land, birth be mine !

For as long as saving lore

¹ This represents the Sanskrit phrase *uttarāsaṅgam ekāṃsaṃ kṛtvā*.

² Rough verses of seven syllables as far as 355b 2.

Of the Śākya Lion thrives
 Be it mine too in that land
 To be born and aye have birth."

In the Jina's presence when
 Thus the Devī her vow made,
 In the Buddha realms all Jinās
 "It is well! 'Tis well" acclaimed.

354b

To the land-guarding Devī
 When the Jinās acclaimed "Well",
 Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjaya,
 Of the Yakṣas captain, heard.
 Then with Viśravaṇ's son that host
 Of the Devas gathered there
 To the Holy One made prayer :
 "For the Li land's safeguarding,
 In accord with Deva chiefs
 Be to us too that land given :
 When the men of that Gold Race ¹
 And the Skar-rdo realm beloved
 In the fealty of Li
 Shall a golden tribute send."

Then the Devī thus made prayer :
 "That the Devas may Skar-rdo
 And the Gold Race safe maintain,
 Let the Jina, noblest, grant.
 In a life long past I dwelt,
 A believing lay-wife, here (*sic*) ;
 And my name was Ñu-sar ² then ;
 And the two lands both were mine."

In her train one princely born

¹ Concerning these see *supra*, pp. 151-4.

² What is the relation of this Ñu-sar to Hu-śa ? See *supra*, p. 177.

Of Udyāna¹ chief and lord,
 From his seat uprose, and there
 On the ground with both knees knelt.
 To the Holiest thus he prayed :
 " At what time with name ' Li land '
 Shall a land that not yet is
 Be with thriving folk full thronged,
 At that time, in Skar-rdo realms
 As a great king holding sway,
 May I be with lord of Li
 In perpetual friendship joined,
 And to guard that mine own state
 Of myself oblation make." ²

355a

Vimalaprabhā Devī, then,
 In her mind aspiring thought :
 " At what time in that best land
 Shall be Sum-pas,³ raiding hosts,
 At what time with Chinese too,
 And with Ha-ža,⁴ Sum-pa men,
 Like Virūḍhaka's troops of old,⁵
 In that realm astir shall be,
 At that time therein may I
 For the people's sake have birth :
 May the Sum-pas there by me
 Be repelled, those others too.⁶
 Wheresoe'er by Li-dwellers
 Have been wrought in old times works,

¹ The person intended is, doubtless, the Uttarasena mentioned in Hiuan-Tsang's travels (trans. Beal, pp. 126-7); see below, pp. 224-5.

² This king is to be *Vijaya-Vikrama*, of Khotan (and Skar-rdo?), concerning whom see *supra*, pp. 142 sqq.; and *infra*, pp. 224-5.

³ Concerning the *Sum-pas* (in this instance written *Gsum*) see *supra*, pp. 156-9.

⁴ Concerning the *Ha-žas* see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 1 sqq. The mention of them here is probably casual, since they have no place in the narrative.

⁵ For the story see Hiuan-Tsang (trans. Beal, i, 48-9, 128; ii, 11, 12, 20-1); Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 116-18; Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 40.

⁶ Concerning this occurrence see *infra*, p. 238.

With the same well pleased am I,
And have made those works mine own.
So the kings of yore that were
And the councils, householders,
And the folk, dear folk all mine,
Shall of those works quittance see,
At what time my one dear child,
In a moody grief absorbed,¹
Shall recall, to that life born,
What aforetime here she vowed."

At that time in that escort
Was a king, of Kaspar² lord ;
To the words the Devī spake,
Vimalaprabhā, he gave heed.
From his seat uprose that king,
And in this wise fashioned speech :
"There are works in life long past,
Uneffaced still, wrought by me,
When, the Śākya men to quell,
With Virūdhaka king allied,
I the fair realm did invade.
If that work's full ripening
I may not in this life see,
I on this wise make my prayer.

355b

"When the Sum-pas and the Ha-ḥas there appear, may I,
by reason of the works formerly wrought by me in the Śākya
country, in battle with Virūdhaka, at what time this goddess
shall be in great anxiety,³ at that time be her father⁴; and,

¹ See *infra*, pp. 194, 215, 225, 228.

² This form of the name Kāśmīr is interesting, since it has not previously
been furnished by any Oriental source (the Greeks give *Κασμειροι*,
Ptolemy, vii, 1, 47-9). [But see now Leumann, *Nordar. Lehergedicht*, xxiv,
5, p. 291.] In the Buddha story proper Kāśmīr is not mentioned.

³ *skyo-ba*.

⁴ Sc. Īśvara-varman, king of Skar-rdo; see *supra*, pp. 143-4, 146, and
infra, p. 225.

when she is anxious for my sake, may she first obtain a *dhāraṇī*, whereby I too may be saved from all griefs.”¹

That king's chief consort, who was sitting in that same company, made aspiration: “Seeing that at that time I too, being Devī Vimalaprabhā's mother, did on the return of Virūdhaka's army feel remorse for the commission of so great a sin, ‘What is to be done?’, and so gave birth to a good thought, therefore may I, until the time befalls for me to die in that Li land, in that same Li country behold impermanence²; and, when the *Ha-ḥas* and *Sum-pas* appear in that country, at that time may I come by my death and
356a be born in the world-realm Paradise.”³

The Devī Vimalaprabhā's brother, son of king Ajātaśatru, a person of great conceit and arrogance, had, in order to see fighting, gone as ally of king Virūdhaka in the battle with the Śākya. Having in that battle committed the sin of killing men, etc., and having there seen many men die, then, on beholding Buddha, he felt great remorse and sorrow. He now said to the Devī Vimalaprabhā, “Since I was your brother well-beloved, when you heard that in that army I had done those evil deeds, you sympathized with me. The bad *karma* which your mind acquired, through the ripening thereof there will come into your kingdom armies of *Sum-pas*. At that time may I there, as now, be your dear brother. Lonely and uninspired,⁴ you will have untranquil contemplations.⁵ You having first obtained a *dhāraṇī*, at that time may I also, being through your strength saved from the sufferings of beings in hell and lower animals, become a
356b Yakṣa assistant of the Yakṣa-lord Vaiśravaṇa, with the name ‘Ā-dzul⁶; and, that you may be constantly protected by him, may I remind Vaiśravaṇa and the rest and the other Yakṣas and the Deva-lords in the thirty and two Deva-mansions. When they think of you, may they come and accomplish all your desires.”

¹ See *infra*, p. 225.

² *mī-rtag-pa-ñid-mthoṅ-nas*.

³ *Bde-ba-can* = *Sukhavatī*.

⁴ *lun-med-par*.

⁵ *mī-gtsaṅ-paḥi-tiṅ-ñe-ḥdzin*: see pp. 193, n. 1, and 225.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 146. B.M. reads ‘Ā-dzu-la.

There that same Devī's youngest sister,¹ who had become a daughter of king Ajātaśatru, conceived an aspiration: "My brother having committed the sin of alliance with the army of Virūdhaka, on hearing thereof I rejoiced. Because of that deed, when I, having there become your daughter,² shall through the ripening of that deed die of sorrow, and you are similarly sorrowful, may I, [through your ?] having found a Pious Friend and having heard such religious instruction whereby, obtaining the first fruit, I shall make an end of sorrow, then remember my former and later acts." ³

There one who had become ⁴ that Devī's youngest brother and before becoming her brother had been a lay-worshipper named Hu-śa, and by his former deeds had caused terror to living creatures, having seen his sister make aspiration in the presence of the Holy One, also saw her, in consequence of having offered a prayer in the presence of the Holy One, 357a receive the kingdom of the Li country for its protection. Then that youngest brother of the Devī Vimalaprabhā, a son of king Ajātaśatru, bowed with clasped hands in the direction where was the Holy One, and petitioned thus: "Since formerly I did honour and service to many Holy Buddhas, I have at all times, in my successive births, performed many tasks of royalty. This my sister also has, in the form of a woman, acted the part of a Bodhi-sattva. In having taken the Li country in hand for its protection she has consented to a great task. The mind of a woman is known to the Buddha, the Holy One, himself—that is enough. That haply the Holy One may send out lights over me and similarly bless me is my prayer. Grant that I may in some way assist in protecting the country; and deign to bestow a *dhāraṇī* wherethrough my race shall during long time hold sway in the Li country. Having obtained fruit in [such] birth, may I after death be born among the Devas. When into the 357b

¹ *bu-mo-ta-cuñ*: Read *nu-mo* with B.M.; cf. *infra*, p. 225.

² Sister, as p. 225 ?

³ Concerning this occurrence see *infra*, p. 225 and (?) 233.

⁴ Read *gyur-cin* [B.M.] in place of *gyur-cig*.

Li country shall come Sum-pas and Red-Faces, at that time may I be king of the Skar-rdo country¹ and brother of this Devī Vimalaprabhā: in order to make the Li country flourish, may I be her helper."

When that youth had so petitioned and made aspiration, the Holy One was absorbed in the Trance called "Conquest of Māra"²: the Devas let fall a rain of Deva-flowers and clashed Deva-cymbals. Arising from that Trance, the Holy One pronounced: "From the first conception until I reached the heart of Buddhahood³ I accumulated merits and store of good; through those, and through the great mass of merits of doing many Buddha acts such as are⁴ wrought by many other Tathāgatas, and through those miracles which at one time I united in my austerities, the kingdom of the Li country, taken in hand by this Devī Vimalaprabhā for its protection, shall in times not yet come be well established."

Then from the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa hill the Holy One vanished. In the direction where were to arise the Li country and the
 358a *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gandha, abode of great Yoga-ṛṣis, to that region he repaired. There abiding, the Holy One was absorbed in the Trance called "With all grandeur adorned",⁵ emitting a light called "Knowledge lamp".⁶ Gathered in one spot, all the retinues stationed on the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa hill saw the Buddha in the region where the Li country was to be, sitting in ascetic posture.⁷ The Bodhi-sattvas stationed on that hill Gośṛṅga, abode of great Yoga-ṛṣis, who had formerly been helpers of the Holy One, Buddha, in performing the acts of a Bodhi-sattva, they too emitted lights. The Buddha himself was seen abiding⁸ where the *dharma-cakra* of the

¹ This is Vijaya-varman, the "hero" of the story.

² *Bdud-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba* = *Māra-vijaya*.

³ *thog-ma-sems-bskyed-pa-nas-byañ-chub-kyi-sñiñ-po-la-ḥdug-gi-bar-du*.

⁴ Possibly a negative is here omitted; see p. 182.

⁵ *Dpal-thams-cad-kyis-brgyan-pa* = *Sarva-śrī-vibhūṣita*.

⁶ *Ye-śes-sgron-ma* = *Jñāna-pradīpa*.

⁷ *skyl-mo-kruñ-bcas-te-bzugs*.

⁸ *dehi-bar-snañ-ba* (sic) *-bzugs-so*: Read *dehi-bar-bar-snañ-la*, "sat in the sky there," as B.M.

stūpa Go-ma-sa-la-gandha was to be: the Bodhi-sattvas were grouped on the tops of lotuses in the water on all the spots where retreats of Saṃghas, places of meditation, *gandha-kūṭīs* and great *stūpas* were to arise.¹ There the Buddha, the Holy One, spoke then this *dhāraṇī*, the "Head of *Dhāraṇīs*",² 358b whereby all the instructions of the Holy Buddhas are brought to mind—as follows: *Ba-pa-ra* | *pra-tya-ba-pa-ra* | *prajñā-ba-pa-ra* | *Buddha-ba-pa-ra* | *Sad-dharma-ba-pa-ra* | *Śū-rā-ba-pa-ra* | *Sarba-dharma-skandha-ba-pa-ra* | *Badzrapāṇi-ba-pa-ra* | *tiṣṭhate-ba-pa-ra-svāhā* |. While Buddha spoke this *dhāraṇī*, all the retinues stationed on the Grdhra-kūṭa hill heard it. All the Holy Ones, the Bodhi-sattvas on the peak³ of the Gośṛṅga hill and in groups together seated there, beheld.⁴

Then to the Devī Vimalaprabhā and the Kumāra Vajrasena the Holy One pronounced: "With this *dhāraṇī* do you my work and protect the kingdom of the Li country entrusted to you." Then the Devī Vimalaprabhā and the Bodhi-sattva Vajrasena thus petitioned: "This Li country in trust from the Holy One we beg to receive."

¹ See *supra*, pp. 16-17.

² *Gzuñs-sñags-kyi-spyi-bo.*

³ *zom.*

⁴ *Sic*; but perhaps the intended sense was "and they beheld all the Holy Ones . . ."

CHAPTER 2

Then on behalf of Vimalaprabhā and Kumāra Vajrasena the Holy One uttered another *dhāraṇī* (358b 7-359a 1).
 359a Then all the Holy Buddhas, Ratnagarbha and the rest, under whom the Devī Vimalaprabhā had formerly first turned her thought to Buddhahood came there: Kumāra Vajrasena presented gifts. From the Holy Buddha, the Tathāgata "On all sides Beholding",¹ she received a prediction of Buddhahood: "In a Buddha-realm called 'Light-king' ² Vimalaprabhā will obtain *Bodhi*: in an æon named 'Wherein abides the Tathāgata King of Rays of Light, with very exalted Moon-banner',³ in a world-realm named 'As Woman famed',⁴ she will become a Tathāgata named 'Religion-sound, grasping in hand a Treasure of Gems'." ⁵

At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, thus gave prediction to that Devī, on account thereof the Buddha, the Holy One, emitted light; and, at what time the Devī Vimalaprabhā received the prediction, at that time she there became the Bodhi-sattva Cittadāha⁶; and afterwards by the Holy
 359b Buddhas abiding in all the Buddha-realms a prediction was made: "Even with the Bodhi-sattvas of the Good Æon the *Bodhi* wherein you are established is exceeding rare." ⁷

Also the Holy Buddhas by whom previously lights had been despatched into the presence of the Buddha, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, all together in one utterance pronounced

¹ *Kun-tu-gzigs-pa* = *Samanta*(*Sarvato*?)*-darśana* (?).

² *Hod-kyi-rgyal-po* = *Prabhā-rāja* (?).

³ *Zla-baḥi-rgyal-mtshan-sin-tu-lhphags-paḥi-hod-zer-gyi-hod-kyi-rgyal-po* = *Candra-dhvaṇya-atyucca-prabhā-raśmi-rāja* (?). The words *zes-bya-bar-ḥgyur-ro*, which follow *rgyal-po*, are, no doubt, a mistaken insertion.

⁴ *Bud-med-du-grags-pa*.

⁵ *Chos-kyi-sgra-sgrogs-phyag-na-rin-chen-mdzod-benams* = *Dharma-rava-kara-grhīta-ratna-kośa* (?).

⁶ The name *Cittadāha* (*Sems-kyi-tshig*) recalls that of the *Gṛhadāha*; also *Ākāśadāha*: see pp. 20, 221.

⁷ *dhāraṇī*.

a *dhāraṇī* (359b 3-4). This *dhāraṇī* is called "Prediction" ¹: with this *dhāraṇī* the Holy Buddhas predict the Supreme Perfect Illumination of Bodhi-sattvas. If it is muttered nightly thrice, daily thrice, they will become unrelapsing and will also obtain prediction of the Illumination of a Buddha.

At what time the Devī Vimalaprabhā obtained prediction of Buddhahood, at that time she attained the Great Patience.² At that time she made aspiration thus: "As long as in the 360a
Li land shall arise great alarms, so long may I, appearing as a woman, by virtue of this aspiration which I make be born as daughter of the king of Skar-rdo." Hail to the Tathāgata "King of Rays of Light with very exalted Moon-banner" ³ Hail to the Tathāgata "Religion-sound, grasping in hand a Treasure of Gems!" ⁴ Whoso utters these two Buddha-names will be released from birth as a woman and will be born in those world-realms. Whatever vow he desires to make in accord with religion, to that he shall attain.⁵ Also he shall absolve the deeds of those beings who are born in hell. He will be unrelapsing from Supreme Perfect Illumination. *Syā-the-dan-da-da-da-da | prajñā-ke-sa | prajñā-ke-re | para-prajñā-pratihate svāhā. |* This *dhāraṇī* being named "Flower-of-accessories-of-Bodhi," ⁶ what *dharma*s he desires he will attain. Even the Devas of Māra's race, unable to obstruct the attainment of Buddhahood, will find no opening. He will have memory ⁷: 360b
his mind will be unrelapsing.

At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, gave this *dhāraṇī*, at that time the Devī Vimalaprabhā made aspiration: "Having there taken birth and having become daughter of the king of Skar-rdo, may I go to that place in the country of the

¹ *Lun-bstan-pa* = *Vyākaraṇa*.

² *bzod-pa-chen-po* = *mahā-kṣānti*.

³ *Hod-zer-gyi-hod-kyi-rgyal-po - zla-baḥi-rgyal-mtshan-ṣin-tu-lphags-paḥi*. This and the following Tathāgata-names have not been elsewhere traced.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 198, n. 5.

⁵ *sgrub* = *siddhi*.

⁶ *Byan-chub-kyi-yan-lag-gi-me-tog* = *Bodhi-anga-kusuma*.

⁷ *smrti-upasthāna*.

Gold Race where I was (*sic*) afflicted with grief for the death of my father and mother."

At that time there was in that company another young nobleman, a guardian of king Ajātaśatru's city.¹ He spoke thus: "May I be your housemate; and, when in my house you in woman's form do those deeds, may I there make no impediment; and, while for the sake of the land you do in my house whatever acts you do before attaining Buddhahood, may I remember all those arduous acts."

There was there one who was son of that city guard²: he said: "At what time formerly you were a Lay-worshipper named Hu-śa, at that time I made aspiration that I might be your son. Thereafter in all incarnations you were my
361a mother and I was your son; when by virtue of your great aspiration you perform your acts in the Gold Country, and when in that country great harms arise, at that time and in any way may I render help in liberating all the beings there from harm. Also, when that country is without a king, may I protect it according to religion and not allow it to be subject to any other than myself.³ In the interim until you acquire Buddhahood may I be your son and you be my mother."

At that time there was in that company a woman of noble family who had followed in the train of the Devī Vimalaprabhā, one much puffed with conceit and arrogance and having a mind altogether under the influence of desire: she made aspiration: "May I become your daughter⁴ and be cleansed from all those acts of mine when in the time of youth I laughed and frolicked with many men through passionate desire?"

In that company was another person⁵, sitting in the presence

¹ *groṇ-khyer-skyoṇ-ba*: This is, no doubt, the *nagara-rakṣa*, *nāgaraka*, or *nāgarika*, the "Mayor", of the *Aṛiṭha-sāstra* and other Indian works on government. On the significance of the choice of this title for the person who was to be the husband of Rab-ñes and king of the Gold Race see *supra*, pp. 166-7.

² This is, the young Īśvara-varman of p. 254 *infra*.

³ See *infra*, pp. 225-6.

⁴ A second daughter. For the first see p. 195.

⁵ Possibly this is the 'A-kun mentioned *infra*, pp. 232, 255.

of the Buddha, the Holy One : he said to that young noblewoman : " What you for that purpose have in your secret intent vowed,¹ that I do not grant." Then that person made aspiration : " When in times not come this noblewoman, being settled in the country along with the Devī Vimalaprabhā, shall perform great acts, at that time may I, when these works come to pass,² obtain birth among the retinue."³ 361b

At that time the brother of the Devī Vimalaprabhā, the Bodhi-sattva Vajrasena, kneeling on the ground in the presence of the Holy One, with folded hands besought thus :

" O revered Holy One, may I, having become a righteous king of the Gold Race, be a helper of the Devī Vimalaprabhā in bringing prosperity to the country. Where in the Gold Country the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa abode, there may whatever wealth is deposited underground, and whatever is in the cemeteries of the dead, and whatever has become the wealth of the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa, be all sought out⁵ by me for the sake of bringing prosperity to the kingdom of the Li country, and much wealth of gold and so on be presented. This Devī Vimalaprabhā also in the presence of the Buddha, 362a the Holy One, offers [her] wealth on behalf of the Li land. At what time harms shall arise in that country, at that time may no Deva, or Nāga, or Yakṣa, or spirit cause obstruction in regard to that wealth. May all those who are protectors of that land themselves one and all help in any way to secure that wealth."

In the Gold Mountain, where formerly the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa was, there had been another woman, who, while making many gifts, had not observed morality. She spoke thus : " Whatever merits I accumulated by giving gifts, there-through may I, becoming chief consort of the king of the Gold Race, haply likewise help in making bestowal of wealth for the prosperity of that Li country."

¹ *dam-boas.*

² *las-hdi-gsëgs-te.*

³ *hkhor-ba-nas-hbyun-ba-hthob-pa :* " Obtain birth out of *samsāra* " ?

⁴ Read *tes-bya-ba* (not *bar*)-*gnas-par-gyur-pa.* Sic B.M.

⁵ *btsal.*

Then Kumāra Vajrasena, the brother of the Devī Vimalaprabhā, petitioned thus : " At what time those great army forces shall be at strife with each other, may I have become king of Skar-rdo ; at what time the Red-Faces lead in their army, at that time may I, having obtained wealth from the king of the Gold Race, bestow it righteously, so as to make the Li country flourish."

362b At that time another noblewoman,¹ who, having been a companion of that Devī, had attained the first stage² and who had joined her company there, being in that company, made aspiration : " May I be in the Li country during seven³ lives chief consort of the king. At what time the hour befalls for those great army forces to contend in battle, at that time may I have birth in the China country. At what time this Kumāra Vajrasena shall have become king of Li, at that time may I become his chief consort, and may we two make the Li country to flourish again ; and the retreats of the Saṃghas and the places of contemplation and the great *stūpas* and the *gandha-kuṭīs* burned by the Red-Faces may we two restore anew."

363a At what time those persons in that retinue made their aspirations, at that time the Holy One was absorbed in the Trance called "Adamant Banner".⁴ The Great King Vaiśravaṇa and the Yakṣa Saṃjaya and the Nāga-king Anavatapta and the Deva-son Susthīramatī and the Devī Hārītī with her son and the Devī Vimalaprabhā were also absorbed in a Trance called "Buddha-contemplating".⁵ Then, rising out of the Trance, they knelt on the ground in the presence of the Holy One and thus petitioned : " O Holy One, we desire in times not yet come to receive that Li country for its protection. According as the Holy One has pronounced, all such tasks we desire."

¹ The future Chinese consort of Vijaya-varman.

² *sa-dan-po-thob-pa*, or "a chief station", as a local deity : see p. 225.

³ "Five" in p. 226.

⁴ *Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan* = *Vajra-dhvaṇa*.

⁵ *Saṅs-rgyas-yid-la-byed-pa* = *Buddha-manasikāra*.

Then all the Devas and Nāgas and Yakṣas and Gandharvas and Asuras and Dākas and Kinnaras and Mahoragas and men and non-men that were assembled in that retinue, having in the sky let fall over the Holy One a rain of flowers, also chanted such various strains of music as were suited for the worship of the Buddha, the Holy One.

Then to Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjaya and all the others in that retinue into whose hands that country had been committed for its protection he thus pronounced : “ Again and again I commit the country into your hands for its protection. At what time the Red-Faces, having taken the country, 363b destroy and burn the retreats of the Saṃghas and the *gandha-kuṭīs* and the great *stūpas*, and, whereas they have formed a mistaken aspiration haply to bring about the destruction of my doctrine, the two armies there shall in no long time be at strife with one another, at that time shall Vajrasena, the brother of the Devī Vimalaprabhā, himself proceed to that country of the Gold Race and to the king of the Gold Race speak thus : ‘ There is a *sūtra*, *Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā*, pronounced by the Holy One, Śākya-muni. This, which has come from the Li country, is the word of Buddha, the Holy One, and of the Devas. “ The command of the Holy Buddhas and the Devas is not to be violated. A time having now befallen for the kingdom of the Li country to be seized by the Red-Faces, the Chinese desire to come into the country of the Gold-Race. At what time there is great fear of their contending with one another in battle, and the Red-Faces shall have become alarmed, at that time decide to go into the country of the Gold Race.¹ In regard thereto the teaching of the Holy One is thus : ‘ At what time the Red-Faces, while not letting go ² the country of the Gold Race, [are] at a distance ³ [and] do not approach to do harm, at that time take this *sūtra* as a missive into the country of the Gold Race 364a

¹ This seems accurately to date the production of the *sūtra*.

² *mi-gton* (or *gtod*)-la.

³ *rgyan*-la.

and to the king of the Gold Race speak thus : " This is the command of Buddha, the Holy One, and of the Devas ; since it is not proper that men should be at variance with the Devas, do you give ransom ¹ for the Li country, and also for the sake of advantage to Skar-rdo grant me much wealth. At what time you shall have obtained wealth, at that time first despatch wealth into the Li country and present it to the Red-Faces ; to the people of the Li country also [some] should be there given. At what time presents are sent ² to the Li country, then first [re]payment should be made ³ to Skar-rdo ; and it is to be done in accordance with what is right in men's country." ⁴ At that time say, " While I, not becoming a servant of the Red-Faces, take the Li country, give me wealth ⁵ and by them even great army forces will not be able to be brought there." Thus you must say : " At what time their armies are coming into the Li country, let them not come there, and I give what is the price of that country." ⁶ It being so, if for the purpose of ransoming the country you do according to this message, we will bring into one all the Li lands and make alliance " —if thus it is said, he will be unable to refuse (?) ⁷ : of this there should be no doubt." ⁸

364b At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, thus instructed the Devī Vimalaprabhā and the Bodhi-sattva Vajrasena, the Holy Buddhas who had emitted the lights and sent the Bodhi-sattvas, and the Devas and so forth assembled

¹ *blud-sbyin*. The sentence might be rendered " let me (*bdag-gis*) give ransom . . . and do you . . . give me much wealth". But *bdag* can mean " yourself".

² Are these religious offerings, customarily expected and received by Khotan as an ecclesiastical city ?

³ ? *der-thog-mar-Skar-rdor-yan-bskur-bar-bya-nas* ?

⁴ *miñi-yul*.

⁵ *na-ni-Gdon-dmar-rnams-kyi-bran-mi-byed-de | nas-Li-yul-gzuñ-gis-na la-nor-byin-cig*.

⁶ *gañ-gi-tshe-deñi-dmag-Li-yul-du-ñon-na-der-ma-ñon-ñig-dan-yul-de-ci ri-bañi-rin-nas-sbyin-no*.

⁷ *rdzi-bar* (meaning obscure).

⁸ We might translate " not being able to refuse, he will not hesitate ", or " he not being able to refuse, you need not hesitate ".

in that company, spoke thus : "May we too, at what time harms shall arise in that country, at that time bestow upon the Devī Vimalaprabhā a *dhāraṇī* of remembrance and a *dhāraṇī* whereof being mindful, she shall realize other great *dhāraṇīs*, or shall attain the Trance 'Buddha-contemplating' and, therein abiding, shall behold the Holy Buddhas resident in all the Buddha-realms and shall also hear them expound religion ; and the Devas too may give a pledge."

Then all the Holy Ones who formerly had emitted lights acclaimed the Devī Vimalaprabhā, saying "It is well", and thus spoke ¹ : "Whereas the Li land has been accepted ² by you for its safeguarding, do you with great wisdom act according as commanded by the Best of Jinas. Without obstruction from ³ other lands, *dhāraṇīs* shall be given. At what time the hour befalls for harm to the Li land, at that ^{365a} time we will take thought and will bestow such wisdoms."

Then the Devas, Brahmā and the rest, the Thirty-two Earth-lords,⁴ all with one voice together said : "We will give such *dhāraṇīs* that by Nāgas and Yakṣas and likewise by spirits,⁵ Asuras and not-men and men no mischief shall be done." (The *dhāraṇī* follows, 365a 3-4.) This is the *dhāraṇī* named "Horse-stall (*Aśva-mandā* ?)". Through this *dhāraṇī*, stupefying ⁶ and quelling the demons, Arjuna ⁷ quelled the Kurus.⁸

Then Brahmā and the other gods and all those retinues spoke thus : "This *dhāraṇī*-charm should be set on the tops of banners, or set on the horse's head or set on one's own neck. Wherever one goes to contend in battle, one will thus become invincible and be victorious over all. Purification ^{365b} must be carried out as in the case of rites to the Devas.⁹

¹ From here to 365a 3 is in rough verse (heptasyllabic).

² For *gnon* read *mnon* or *mno* (sic B.M.).

³ *mi-tshugs-pas* : The other lands will not stand in the way.

⁴ *sa-stens-dbañ-phyug*.

⁵ *lbyun-po* = *bhūta*.

⁶ *rens-byed* = *stambh*.

⁷ *Srid-sgrub*.

⁸ *Sgra-mi-sñan-pa-rnam*.

⁹ *lha-la-bya-ba-bzin-du-gtsan-mas-gtsan-bar-byaho*.

Also, the king, the lord of the Li country, having inscribed on cotton a picture of a great assembly ¹; having purified the royal palace, and having adorned it everywhere with parasols and banners and flags ² and incensed it with baskets of various incense; having made it pleasant with scattered flowers of all sorts and various garlands of flowers;—all those who there do the work of servants practising abstinence ³ according as the king, together with his consort's attendants, have practised abstinence, and having with purification made pure their clothes and food and drink;—they place the form of the picture of the great assembly on the king's throne, and in the front thereof, well besmearing the ground with plaster, ⁴ they make a *maṇḍala*. Having himself properly bathed and being clothed in pure robes, he should make those servants do likewise. At what time they cleanse the ground, at that time the king's entire palace is first to be five times sprinkled ⁵; or else this is to be done with water of all scents. Then, having made *lham-par* ⁶ a *maṇḍala* of sixteen fathoms, with four corners, therein should be placed food of 300 savours and lamps 360, anointed with fragrant grain-oil, and 1,230 parasols and 1,230 flags and 32 flasks and 4 large vases and 4 large drums. And in the centre of the *maṇḍala* this *dhāraṇī* is to be set. Many cymbals are to be clashed, and many sounds of music to be sounded. Then the performer, reciting hymns to Brahmā and the other gods, is to mutter also this *dhāraṇī*. As assistant in the rite, the performer ⁷ should appoint one knowing the various hymns to all the gods. Having performed this work during seven days, on the seventh day, as after-rite, ⁸ he is to take a bath in the daytime. This work, as described above, should be performed similarly on the 5th (*sic*) of the month. The performer himself is to be ⁹ seated in the

¹ *lhdus-pa-chen-po* = *mahā-saṃnipāta*.

² *ba-dan* = *patākā*.

³ *span-bar-byā*.

⁴ *brkyan* (= *rkyaṇ*, *skyaṇ*)-*nul*

⁵ *chag-chag-gdabo*.

⁶ *Sic* (for *zlum-por*, "round"?)

⁷ Read *sgrub-pa-po-des* (in place of *nas*): so B.M.

⁸ *mjug-rtul*.

⁹ i.e. "remain"?

presence of the *maṇḍala*. Moreover, two fire-hearth cavities¹ are to be made, one for the performer and one for his assistant. Therein is to be made the burnt offering of the rite 108 times: also the "Horse-stall" *dhāraṇī* is to be 108 times muttered. Burnt-offering of *dūrvā*² grass also is to be made 108 times. Much sprinkling with saffron water is to be carried on, until the *maṇḍala* is of a colour like gold. The burnt offering is to be with fragrant fumigations of burnt-offering oil. The *maṇḍala* is to be smeared agreeably 366b with plaster.³ When the muttering commences, the great drums are to be beaten and sounds of music to be sounded. Worship having been paid to the Three Gems, then, at the time of sunset on the 5th day of the month, this rite must be begun with muttering of secret charms: or else the beginning is to be made on the 6th or 7th of the month. At morning time first the fire god is to be invoked. According as already taught, a burnt-offering of *dūrvā* grass is to be made. The pieces of flesh having been removed,⁴ other fresh ones are to be placed there. After making oblation during three days or seven days fresh pieces of flesh are to be set. In the centre of the *maṇḍala* are to be set also an image of Buddha, and the Good Religion,⁵ and a relic. In that same *maṇḍala* are to be set 10 parasols and 10 banners and 10 flags and 10 great drums and 10 bells and 360 garlands of flowers and 360 lamps. After the completion of the rite in this manner, then in that same *maṇḍala*, from the eighth day until the fifteenth, the service to Ārya Avalokiteśvara is to be muttered at full length.

At what time a great matter is started with these rites⁶ of the "Horse-stall" *dhāraṇī*, or it is desired to go into a 367a great battle, or it is desired to win the lordly state of a great king,⁷ then, if this "Horse-stall" *dhāraṇī* is muttered according as the full performance has been set forth above,

¹ *meḥi-thab-khuṇ*.² *rtswa-dur*.³ See *supra*, p. 206, n. 4.⁴ *phyir-phyuṇ*. On the "pieces of flesh", not previously mentioned, see pp. 183, n. 5, and 234.⁵ A volume of scripture (e.g. the *Lotus*) ?⁶ Read *kyi-las-kyis* or *kyis* simply, omitting "these rites of".⁷ *rgyal-po-chen-pohi-dbañ-phyug-gi-bdag-po*.

at that time the Devas give their sanction and consecration.¹ At what time the muttering of the ritual to Ārya Avalokiteśvara in full extent is essayed, at that time, if it is done in that same *maṇḍala* in the previous manner, the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara in person² and many Devas born from the heart of those *dhāraṇīs* given by the Holy Buddhas, when they formerly emitted the lights, come there together and give pledges: so that this rite succeeds according to desire. If these rites of this *dhāraṇī* and the full performance of the ritual have been carried out, with muttering, when a great matter is commenced or when, upon the appearance of an enemy, men go into battle, then, if muttered upon the corslet, they will keep safe the person; if muttered upon
 367b the battle-axe, or if muttered on the bow, or if muttered on the arrow; (or) if, after muttering 108 times over the saffron in that *maṇḍala* a drop [thereof] is set upon the foreheads of all the soldiers and all the horses, or if at the gates of the city or at the king's palace or at the doors of the royal residence there is washing with that saffron, there will be victory everywhere and relief from all alarms".

Then the Devas gave another *dhāraṇī* (367b 3-4). This, being a *dhāraṇī* of Perception,³ is to be muttered in that *maṇḍala* as desired. If it has been muttered seven times over saffron, it affects on the occasion of the "Horse-stall" *dhāraṇī* all the objects stated above. The ritual of worship in the seven times muttering has been expounded above. At what time one goes into an army, at that time this secret *mantra* and the secret *mantra* "Horse-stall", having each been seven times muttered, are to be attached, together with the previously mentioned lights and *dhāraṇīs*,
 368a to the top of the commandant's banner and worn on the body. At what time a muttering of the "Horse-stall" knowledge-*mantra* is essayed, during seven days the tent is to be made pure as when entering a Deva's abode,

¹ *dam-pa-daṅ-dbañ-bskur-ba.*² *sku.*³ *tshor-ba*: cf. p. 230.

and abstinences are to be practised similarly. If beginning is made on the thirteenth of the month, the abstinence must be complete; if on the fourteenth, there must be no flesh-eating; if on the fifth, then rice-pap mixed with milk, or rice-porridge, or rice-pap with oil is to be eaten, and there is to be no water-drinking.

Then the Buddha, the Holy One, gave this *dhāraṇī* (368a 4-5). This *dhāraṇī* is to be uttered where the "Horse-stall" knowledge(*vidyā*)-*mantra* is uttered. Whatever attainment is desired, or whatever other task is undertaken, or if a treasure is desired, this *dhāraṇī* is to be muttered thirty-three times.

Then the four World-regents and so forth, all the Devas of the race of the four Great Kings, with folded hands, petitioned thus : " For repelling Yakṣas and spirits,¹ as many 368b as there be, we desire to give this *dhāraṇī*. It allays all spirits and epidemic diseases and also will thrice avert diseases of men or children, whatever they be. Also, if three knots are made and it is attached, it will allay diseases due to spirits. When a child is born, but does not live, one should thereby endow it with life, and also protect children."

Then the four Great Kings petitioned the Holy One thus : " We beg the Holy One to grant attainment." At that time the Holy Buddha, Vajradhvaja, spoke this *dhāraṇī* (378b 5). This *dhāraṇī* having been uttered by the Holy Ones, Śākya-muni and Vajradhvaja, for attainment on the part of the Devas of the race of the four Great Kings and of the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara, if anyone has blood coming from the nose, or a wound on his body, or if the humours go wrong, or if blood oozes from women's bodies, then, uttered over a red cord and that attached to the head, it should be put 369a against the wound. Or, if there is fear of epidemics or diseases due to spirits, it is to be muttered over a cord, and that, with ten knots made in it, attached to the neck.

¹ *hbyun-po* = *bhūta*.

Whoever has diarrhoea¹ or a flow from the gall-bladder, should make ten knots in a yellow cord and attach it to the waist.

At that time the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara uttered this *dhāraṇī* (369a 3-4). It allays all diseases due to spirits and all epidemics. When the sick man shall have reached the point of death,² if he is pallid or half-dead, then this *dhāraṇī* is to be uttered over him (369a 5-6). In order to allay all epidemics and all hurts from spirits, it is to be thrice muttered and then worn on a cord made with three knots : the muttering is to be done after taking food.

369b This *dhāraṇī* was spoken by all the Buddhas and Avalokiteśvara (369b 1). This is a secret *mantra* against poison : when anyone has drunk poison, or a pustule³ has grown, or a wound has become indurated, then, upon muttering seven times over food or water or medicine or the ground, they will all be cured.

Then the Devas of the race of the four Great Kings gave a *dhāraṇī* : " We will give a *dhāraṇī* composed of the names of the *dhāraṇīs* whose virtues have been already stated (369b 4)." This *dhāraṇī* allays all epidemics from spirits and epidemics of the four diseases, and the four sources of disease.⁴ This *dhāraṇī* is one not to be traversed by spirits.

At what time the " Horse-stall " *dhāraṇī* is uttered, first these *dhāraṇīs* are to be attached to a cord. At the time of entering the *maṇḍala* also these are to be put there as boundary-holders.⁵ Also the *dhāraṇīs* are to be uttered severally three times, and three knots are to be made. All who sit in the presence of Buddha must sit. Before the
370a *maṇḍala* a drawing of the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara is to be set, and resin⁶ and incense of black agallochum are to be burned : to the Devas incense of gum⁷ and agallochum is to be burned. At that time aspiration is to be made as follows : " According as I have been commanded to act for

¹ *hkhru-ba*.

² *śi-la-ihug-par-gyar-te*.

³ *phol-mig* : See *supra*, p. 62, n. 1.

⁴ *nad-hgo* : Perhaps this refers to the four humours.

⁵ *mishams-hdzin-pa* = *dīkṣāla* (*Harṣa-carita*, trans. p. 93).

⁶ *du-ru-ka*.

⁷ *ara-rtse-ma*.

the protection of the kingdom of the Li country, the country of the Holy Buddhas ; according as the Devas have given a pledge to help me ; and according to the pronouncements of Buddha and the vows of the Devas, may this rite be of certain accomplishment and attain its end.”¹

At that time all the Holy Buddhas, and the Bodhi-sattva Vajrapāṇi pronounced these titles of *dhāraṇīs* (370a 5-b 7, the titles, with *dhāraṇīs*, one of them said to come from the *Vajrapāṇi-guhya-jñāna-mahā-sūtra*).

Then the Devīs and women under a curse who were gathered 371a in that retinue (Devīs cursed to be women ?) all spoke to the Devī Vimalaprabhā thus : “Do you obtain from the Holy One a *dhāraṇī* giving release from birth as a woman and present it to us. We will accept the *dhāraṇī* from you.”

Then the Devī Vimalaprabhā begged the *dhāraṇī* from the Buddha, the Holy One, and he gave it (371a 3-4). Whoever utters this *dhāraṇī* will be released from birth as a woman (371a 4-5). This *dhāraṇī*, being one expounded by all the Buddhas and all the Devas, can have no impediment.

At that time the Devī Vimalaprabhā thus petitioned the Holy Buddhas and the Devas : “I beseech you to give me a *dhāraṇī* wherethrough I shall obtain wisdom and shall be able duly to carry out these tasks commanded by the Holy Buddhas, and impediments to us may not be possible, and 371b even those who make aspiration to create impediments to me may be unable to do harm,² and I may in due order do the works of the Buddha and fulfil the religious purposes of all beings.”

At that time the Holy Buddhas and the Devas spoke thus : “We will assist, so that none shall be able to cross your thought” (*namaskāras* and *dhāraṇīs* 271b 3-6). This *dhāraṇī* having been uttered by the Holy Buddhas, in order that persons incensed against the Devī Vimalaprabhā might not be able in any way to accomplish deeds of sin, if seven knots are made on a string, and that is worn at the neck, no 372a

¹ Or “attain completion” (*mīhar-phyen*).

² *brtse-bar*.

impediment can be made, and there is no possibility of defeat (372a 1-b a *dhāraṇī* against eye-disease, and one averting fears and securing cities.)

For purification of sin on the part of the Devī Vimalaprabhā the Ārya Avalokiteśvara spoke thus: "For protection it is to be attached to the neck by a string made with seven knots, and muttered after taking food."

At that time the Devī Vimalaprabhā thus petitioned: "Pray bestow upon me also a *dhāraṇī* for allaying eye-disease" (372a 4-6). When this *dhāraṇī* has been muttered 108 times in the presence of the Holy Buddhas, then, after it has been muttered daily seven times over water, [the water] is to be wiped on the eye, or after five mutterings it is to be poured upon
372b the eye-medicament (327a 7-b 1). This *dhāraṇī* is to be used for the removal of all fears and for the protection of a city.

¹ When to the Devī Vimalaprabhā and the Bodhisattva Vajrasena, the Buddha, the Holy One, had thus pronounced, at that time there was sitting in the company a young prince, who, at what time King Ajātaśatru's son, Kumāra Vajrasena, was born, at that time, in order that his own son might afterwards obtain the lordliness of royal state, had caused the thumb of his junior, a young prince, younger brother of King Ajātaśatru, to be cut off by his elder: he made aspiration thus: "At what time Kumāra Vajrasena obtains the sovereignty of Skar-rdo, at that time may I, having become king of the Li country,² be his associate in securing both countries, and after that may we show no hostility one to another."

At that time there was sitting in that company one who, being a Brāhman's son, a pupil of Kauṇḍinya, was by him given as pupil to another Brāhman not a believer in Buddha, so that that Brāhman's son too did not renounce the world. Seeing that the Buddha, the Holy One, was absorbed
373a in the *Sūramgama* Trance, he made aspiration: "May I, being properly taught the *Sūramgama* Trance, and having realized it, give to this Devī Vimalaprabhā the 'Horse-stall' *dhāraṇī*."³ Through this *dhāraṇī*, whereby the Holy

¹ Text here dislocated?

² See *infra*, p. 227.

³ See *infra*, p. 252.

Buddhas vanquish the army of Māra, Kumāra Vajrasena shall fully, in accord with religion, comprehend the business of royalty (373a 3-4). This *dhāraṇī*, invincible by Māra, is to be uttered seven times after taking food ; just as the Buddha, the Holy One, subdued Māra, so Kumāra Vajrasena, becoming king, shall mark out boundaries.¹ He should carry out all the operations just as in the case of the " Horse-stall " *dhāraṇī*. If, after pronunciation over saffron, it is made into a drop² or attached to a string of seven knots and set over a *maṇḍala*, then, if on going into an army it is taken attached to the body, victory is obtained. It is to be uttered in the same way as the previous *dhāraṇīs*.

At what time the Holy Buddhas uttered the " Horse-stall " *dhāraṇī*, at that time the Holy One pronounced to the Devas and all those retinues : " Devas and Nāgas and Yakṣas and Gandharvas and Dākas and Kinnaras and Mahoragas and men and not-men, as many as are here assembled, according as you have given to the Devī Vimalaprabhā and Kumāra Vajrasena the ' Horse-stall ' *dhāraṇī*, even so will I give you a *dhāraṇī* whereby all enemies shall be cleared away³ and whereby yourselves, being exceedingly blessed,⁴ shall be possessed of exceeding brilliance, and to all who abide in Peerless Mansions⁵ and in houses there shall be benefit and good, and such as prepare for strife and battle shall not be. This *dhāraṇī* I will give to you, my fourfold retinue, for the sake of the Devī Vimalaprabhā and Kumāra Vajrasena and the Li country. Haply through this *dhāraṇī* you shall be blessed⁶ and possessed of brilliance, and so shall relieve Kumāra Vajrasena from all ills."

Then at that time the Earth-lords thirty and two and the four World-protectors and the Yakṣa-lord Samjaya and the Nāga-king Anavatapta and Hārītī with her child and her retinue and the tutelaries of the Li country all rose

¹ *mtshams-kyan-gcod-par.*

³ *dan-bar-hgyur.*

⁵ *gzal-med-khan (vimāna)* : Sc. temples.

² *thig-le.*

⁴ *byin-pa-dan-ldan.*

⁶ *byin-dan-ldan.*

from their seats and to the Holy One thus petitioned: "O Holy One, we desire to take charge¹ of the Li land. Since, at what time Vimalaprabhā and Vajrasena shall there have birth and at what time the Holy Buddhas, sending lights over them, give them pledges,² we would come there and seek to give pledges, we beg the Holy One to expound *dhāraṇī*s for us also: we desire to obtain them."

At that time the Buddha, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, and the Holy Buddhas who sent the lights, and those who gave utterances of Tathāgata words, spoke this *dhāraṇī* (374a 6—
 374b *namaskāra the dhāraṇī follow—374b 5*). This *dhāraṇī* is called "Illuminating"³; through this *dhāraṇī* one shall be dear to the hearts of all men and not-men, shall be possessed of brilliance, shall be one whose voice is heeded by people and whose command is not violated.⁴ When with this oil one is to be made a chief,⁵ then, as many as the other medicines composed of gum-resin, sandal of three sorts, rock-dirt,
 375a *hbugs-sug-haṇ, karkoṭi, and juniper, sug-smel, pepper, rmaṇ-śiṇ, 'ab-yag, pu-śel juice, and white jasmine flowers that are made, so many jasmine flowers are to be distilled⁶ in the oil and water; and with this dhāraṇī and together with the previously expounded "Horse-stall" knowledge-mantra that is to be placed in the maṇḍala. If this is done, good attainment is certain (?).⁷ At what time it is well decocted,⁸ it is to be drunk after thirty and three times muttering. Relief will be obtained from all fears of disease; praise and utterance are to be made to the Devas. This "Illuminating" oil and this "Illuminating" *dhāraṇī* cause joy to Devas and men. At what time this *dhāraṇī* is uttered, the Devas' grove becomes exceedingly delightful; and at that time the Devas, their minds and their realm becoming joyous, will remember the Buddha's command, and, assembling where the Devī Vimala-*

¹ *sug-par-slaṇ*(for blaṇs as, B.M.)-bar.

² *dam-pa-stsol-bar-mdzad-pa.*

³ *Rnam-par-snaṇ-byed = Prabhākara.*

⁴ *sems-can-rnams-kyi-ṅag-mñan-par-hgyur-ñiṇ-bego-ba-mi-gcog-par-hgyur-ro.*

⁵ *btso-bor-bya-ste.*

⁶ *btsos.*

⁷ *ta-yin.*

⁸ *tshos.*

prabhā abides, will speak thus : “ At what time you utter the ‘ Illuminating ’ *dhāraṇī*, at that time our Nandana wood becomes exceedingly delightful and most towering.¹ Accord- 375b
ing to the petition which formerly we made to the Holy One for the sake of Kumāra Vajrasena, we give you all the pledges that you desire.”

At what time Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimala-
prabhā heard those words of the Holy One and the Devas,
at that time they sank with bent knees on the ground and
with folded hands thus petitioned : “ O Holy One, the task
which is commanded us is exceeding great. If haply the Holy
One and the Devas would lend aid, we would take charge
of ² the kingdom of the Li land.”

At that time Vimalaprabhā said : “ At what time the hour
befalls for protecting that land, at that time may the Buddha,
the Holy One, himself send lights over us. Haply to me,
realizing the *dhāraṇī*, may that Patience also come.”

Then at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, Śākyamuni,
and the Holy Buddhas who formerly sent the lights and the
utterances which came from the lights, thus pronounced :
“ Vimalaprabhā, it is well, it is well. When the time
befalls, at that time you will be thus grieving and sorrowful. 376a
At what time those associates of Do-good and Do-evil
prepare to divide ³ the country, at that time you will be in
that land, attached ⁴ to your brother, who will have become
Kumāra Vajrasena. At that time in your grief and sorrow
you will entertain the thought ‘ It is better ⁵ even to die ’.
At that time, when you are staying in a certain ⁶ place, you
should utter the *dhāraṇī* *Amṛta-duṇḍubhi-ṣvara* ⁷ of the
Tathāgata Amitābha, and there offer a petition to the Holy
One thus : ‘ So long as of my three thoughts not one is
accomplished, I leave not the chamber of grief ⁸ ; either may

¹ *lhaḡ-par-brtsegs*.

² *sug-par-slaṅ* : see p. 214, n. 1, *supra*.

³ *lgyed-par* = *lbyed-par*.

⁴ *gtogs-pa*.

⁵ *sla* “ easy ” [B.M. *blā*].

⁶ *goḡg*.

⁷ “ Immortality-drum-sound.” Cf. pp. 228, 238.

⁸ *mya-nan-gyi-khan-bu* = Sk. *śokāgāra*, cf. pp. 226, 228.

I meet with my brother, or may I die, or may I be freed from transmigration.'"

At that time the Holy Buddhas thus pronounced: "In that chamber of grief you will attain patience, whereby you will realize the *dhāraṇīs*. At that time the Holy Buddhas will send lights over you, and you will hear strains of Deva music, and will also hear music of the Devas' retinue, and will hear the sound of Deva-drums. At that time the Holy
 3766 Buddhas and the Devas will utter a 'Well, it is well', and you will realize also a *dhāraṇī* of unreversing wheel. Then you will attain those *dhāraṇīs* whereby you shall benefit the beings."

CHAPTER III

The Buddha, the Holy One, pronounced to the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara : “Dear younger brother, remember the time. At what time the Holy Buddha, Ratna-garbha, entered the city, at that time, while we were both sitting there after hearing a prediction, you made the great aspiration : ‘All beings, as many as are affrighted with fear, may I deliver.’ Do you protect my Li country, and the Devī Vimalaprabhā and Kumāra Vajrasena” ; and so committed them into his hand.

Then to the Bodhi-sattva Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī the Youth and Ākāśagarbha and Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Bhaiṣajyarāja and Sudānaśūra¹ and Kṣitigarbha and the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara the Holy One at that time pronounced : “All who formerly have been friends and 377a brothers and with whom we have been associated, Īśvaradeva and Drumeśvararāja and Karuṇā-Aśvin-Īśvara (?)² and Ched(Tyāg?)eśvara³ and Gandheśvara and Gaṇeśvara and Lokeśvara and Prabheśvara⁴ and Jiveśvara⁵ and all Devas, associates all of the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara—into the hands of all those Bodhi-sattvas, as tutelaries of the Li country, the Buddha, the Holy One, commits Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā.”

Then the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī thus petitioned : “I am helper of all Holy Buddhas who have been before and shall be hereafter towards the attainment of the *Bodhi* of Buddha. Hear (?) also the *dharma*.⁶ Desiring to incite to the safeguarding of the Li country, I will there take birth and distribute⁷ relics. To this Devī also I will give *dhāraṇīs* 377b whereby she shall remember her successive lives and *dhāraṇīs* whereby she shall remember all the instructions⁸ heard from the Buddha, the Holy One (377b 2-3 *namaskāras*

¹ *Rab-tu-sbyin-ba-la-dpañ* ? Cf. p. 256.

² *Sñin-rje-tha-skar-dban-phyug*.

³ *Gcod-pañi-dban-phyug*. Cf. pp. 239, 256.

⁴ *Skye-bañi-dban-phyug*.

⁵ *bgo*.

⁶ *Hod-pañi-dban-phyug*.

⁷ *chos-kyan-mñan* (?)

⁸ *chos*.

and a *dhāraṇī*). When this is muttered by day thrice, by night thrice, she shall remember her lives, and shall remember all the instructions previously heard."

Then the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī uttered also this *dhāraṇī* (377a 4-5, the *dhāraṇī*). "At what time she shall have reached one part of Yogācāra practice, at that time, on muttering [this], she will clarify her reflexions¹ and augment the party of good. At what time work is done with the 'Horse-stall' knowledge-mantra, at that time also this is to be thrice muttered."

At that time the Bodhi-sattva Samantabhadra thus petitioned: "At what time this Devī shall first realize the *dhāraṇī*, at that time I, becoming helper, will make her 378a to be clarified in thought and, while she does the work of all beings, to obtain the *dhāraṇī* 'Lotus-of-the-Good-Law-exposition-enveloping-whorl,'² and to realize it and to give to all beings the *dhāraṇīs* which she has realized, and haply to make Kumāra Vajrasena remember the Buddha's commands; and by these *dhāraṇīs* I will make her remember all the Buddha-utterances, whatever has been thus uttered by the Holy Buddhas, and thereupon to let desire and attachment wane."

Then at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, called to the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara and thus pronounced: "Dear younger brother, remember this time. At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, Ratnagarbha, went into the city,³ before the gate of the city there sat a woman, blind, lame, and afflicted with leprosy. There also

¹ *rnam-par-rtog-pa-rnams-kyan-byan-bar-hgyur*.

² *klon-bkhyil* = *cakravāla* (?), *cakrāvarta* (?), *āvartacakra* (?). So *infra*, p. 251, n. 3.

³ The story of the Buddha Ratnagarbha is told in the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka* (c. iii: see Rājendra-lāla Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. 285-8). Apparently his "entering the city" is not there mentioned; but an incident of that kind must have been familiar, since in Taktśé (in Lahul?) Leitner saw "a remarkable carving on a Chorten, or mausoleum, representing Buddha and his followers approaching the gate of a city" (*The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook*, p. xv). See pp. 167, 241.

sat a child, who served as leader to the blind woman. At what time the Holy One, Ratnagarbha, prepared to enter the city, at that time, as the people forthwith ran hither and thither to do honour to the Holy One, the woman became much alarmed and in her fright thought, 'Has a great army force come to this city, or have wild beasts, and elephants, and lions, and tigers, and so on come in numbers bounding along?' : and she said : 'Whoever here is of a compassionate soul, let him tell me. I am extremely afraid. Has an army force come to kill? Or do you see fierce carnivora making for me?' 378b

"At that time you, Avalokiteśvara, had become an old Brāhman. You said to that diseased woman : 'Be not afraid! In this city is no alarm of warlike force or alarm of many fierce carnivora or anything else: the Holy One, Ratnagarbha, has come into the city, and the multitudes of people are running hither and thither in haste in order to do honour to him.'¹ Then the woman said to the boy : 'Lead me, son, by the hand and, going on before me, conduct me there where the Holy One is.'

"Through the power of the light of the Buddha the child along with its mother reached the gate of the city. At what time the Holy One came to the city, at that time diseased persons that were there, the blind, the deaf, the lame, the bent, the distraught and so forth, were all healed.² At what time the woman came where a great Brāhman, Samudrarenu³ by name, made aspiration, and where came many Bodhi-sattvas who had received prediction of Supreme Perfect Illumination, there at that time the woman also was healed. There she formed aspiration for Buddhahood : 'At what time this Brāhman, Samudrarenu, shall become fully perfected,⁴ at that time may I, adhering to his doctrine,

¹ *phan-tshun* : Or should we translate "together"? Or is *phan-tshun-rab-tu-rgyugs* = "racing each other".

² Read *sos* [*sic* B.M.] in place of *sas*.

³ *Rgya-mtsho-ri-rdul*, the father of Ratnagarbha: cf. Bu-ston (tr. Obermiller), p. 93.

⁴ *tshun-rang-ha*.

just as prediction is made to this Brāhman who, having taken the *skandhas* of a man, conducted me [here] for the sake of the doctrine of Buddha, even so there receive prediction of becoming a Buddha.'

"The Brāhman who had kindly shown the Buddha to that woman said: 'As many beings as are alarmed with fears, to all those may I be a refuge.' He having so made
3796 aspiration, the woman said: 'As many beings as, when alarmed with fears, find refuge in you, make me at that time remember. Or else¹ let me assist.' At that time that woman made aspiration for Buddhahood."

At what time the Devī Vimalaprabhā heard from Buddha, the Holy One, the sequence of her former life, at that time she made a great aspiration and spoke thus: "So may all those Bodhi-sattvas become Buddhas. As for me, though I am deeply ashamed of constantly appearing in a woman's form, yet the great tasks as commanded by the Holy One cannot be altered. If I do not take birth as a woman, how shall I do those acts commanded by the Holy One? Accordingly may I there appear in the form of a woman like other women, subject to passion, wrath, and delusion; and, at what time the hour befalls for me to remember all my Buddha tasks and aspirations, may I take birth along with this youth in the Li country and be according as the Holy One has pronounced. At what time ills shall arise in the Li country, may we there be saviours. After that, when, coming into this region of the Universe, among Devas and men, I take birth as a woman, wherever I go, may I everywhere remember my successive
380a lives. When the time comes for dying from this life wherein the command of Buddha has been given, may I be born in a blessed² region of the world where there is not even the name of woman. There also having stayed not long, may I come back here and effect the salvation of the suffering

¹ *hon-taṅ*.

² *bde-ba-can*, which usually = *Sukhavatī*.

beings attached to the five states of existence.¹ At what time Maitreya comes here, at that time may I, like the Bodhi-sattva Ākāśadāha,² duly go to see him. In all my births, as many beings as shall have with me done meritorious works or shall do them or shall see [me] or even hear [my] name, for all those may I accomplish salvation." Thus she made aspiration.

At what time the Devī Vimalaprabhā so spoke, at that time the Holy One thus pronounced: "He who formerly was the Brāhman Samudrarenu is myself, the Holy One, Śākya-muni. The old Brāhman who showed the 380b Buddha, the Holy One, to the woman is this Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara. She that was the diseased old woman is this Devī Vimalaprabhā, daughter of king Ajātaśatru. He that was the boy, her son, is this Kumāra Vajrasena. Who they afterwards have been must also be told. Among the people of Skar-rdo and the Gold Race there was from the very beginning trouble through the Lay-worshipper³ Hu-śa. From the time when the race of men (there) began the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa was settled in that land of the Gold Race. The Lay-worshipper Hu-śa, who was of Deva race, had committed among the Devas an offence against a Devī. In punishment therefor she was sent away to the Gold Mountain; and a curse was pronounced, 'Become there a man-devouring Rākṣasī.'⁴ Thenceforward, waiting for the many traders who through desire for gold came to that Mountain of the Gold Race, the Rākṣasī there, in company with those merchants, indulged in the pleasures of desire.

¹ The "five states" are those of Devas, men, spirits (Pretas), beasts, and beings in hell.

² *Nam-mkhaḥi-tshig*: This Bodhi-sattva has not been traced elsewhere: for the form of the name cf. *Gṛhadāha*, etc., *supra*, pp. 20, 198.

³ *dge-shen-ma* = *upāsikā*.

⁴ *srin-mo*. The story which follows must have had an early vogue among the Buddhists, since in its essentials it agrees with one related in the Pali *Mahāvamsa*, vii, in regard to Ceylon. It is also told in the *Guṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha*: see Rājendralāla Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7.

When at another time other strangers¹ came there, she
 381a devoured the earlier comers with whom she had indulged in
 the pleasures of desire. This Rākṣasī who had been cursed
 by the Devas had as companions 500 other Rākṣasīs, who
 indulged in the pleasures of desire with the strangers who
 came.² There was a Bodhi-sattva named Hog-pag-can,³
 a caravan-leader. When the time arrived for the Devas
 to clear her of the sin, there was born to her a daughter,
 to whom was given the name Hu-śa. This Hu-śa had
 previously been resident in the Buddha-realm of the
 Tathāgata 'Intuition Flowers All Expanded', king of the
 constellation 'Lotus-petal Immaculate',⁴ and in com-
 passionate speech had directed his heart thus⁵: 'Previously
 in many lives this Rākṣasī, once a Deva, has been my
 mother: so, when preparing to devour the Bodhi-sattva
Hog-pag-can, may she be by me, as her daughter, precluded
 from that sinful act.'

"At that time there arrived there other merchants.⁶ So,
 having closed the doors upon Hog-pag-can with his company,
 she prepared to devour them. She joined herself with
 the new arrivals. Then Hu-śa, the little daughter born
 of the union of Hog-pag-can and the Rākṣasī, spoke to her
 381b father Hog-pag-can thus: 'Master father,⁷ let us some-
 how, before being devoured by these Rākṣasīs, flee and
 escape.'

"Then Hog-pag-can was set free by that daughter of his:
 and, Hog-pag-can having set free all the 500 merchants,
 they all fled together. Then the Rākṣasī, having come there

¹ *hgron-po*.

² *hgron-du-hdron*.

³ Since for *hog-pag* Jaeschke's lexicon gives the meaning "girdle", while the lexicon of Tshe-rin-dban-rgyal, which sometimes mistakes *pa* for *sa*, gives *hog-sag* = *mekhala*, the name intended is probably *Mekhalin*. The *Guṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha* has *Viṣkambhin*.

⁴ On these names see *supra*, p. 183.

⁵ *śñin-rje-rje-skad-du-zlog-par-byed* (for °byas?).

⁶ *hdron-po*.

⁷ *pha-jo-bo*.

and not finding Hog-pag-can, left the newly arrived merchants and ran in search of Hog-pag-can and the other merchants.

"Now previously, at the time when she dwelt in the world of the Devas, she had become ¹ a cat and had been punished therefor : the Devas had cut off her ears and put her on the mountain of the Gold Race. And the Devas had pronounced a curse upon her thus : ' Whoso inquires of you in doubt, " By whom were your ears cut ? ", by him you will be released from the curse ; and, coming again into the world of the Devas, you will be a Deva as before.'

"So, the time having arrived for her to return to the world of the Devas, she was running in search of the many merchants, having taken off the long petticoat ² which she was wearing, and being clothed in the garment which she had previously made of animals' fur, and with her hair tied up on her head. When she went after those fleeing merchants, at that time she caught the caravan-leader, Hog-pag-can, and the five 382a hundred merchants, and, wrapping them in the long petticoat, bore them on her shoulder. At that time Hog-pag-can laughed ; and the Rākṣasī asked, ' Son of man, why do you laugh ? If you do not answer truly, I will cast your blood to sink into the earth.' Then the caravan-leader Hog-pag-can said to her, ' By what man and how were your ears cut off, when you are so strong ? ' At that time, letting go the merchants and taking position in the sky, she said, ' Because of ears ³ the name of this country shall be Gold Race ' ; and her ears were restored as before. Having departed to the world of Devas, she became again a Deva. The caravan-leader Hog-pag-can, with the merchants, went back again to the Gold Race mountain and there abode, rearing his daughter. All the Rākṣasīs having become enceinte, not one of them killed the man with whom having

¹ *byi-la-phyin-pas* should mean " a cat had come ". But the translation given seems required by the sense.

² *zab-ma*. " Taken off " is *bsñil*.

³ *rna-baḥi-phyir* : On the interpretation of this sentence see *supra*, pp. 165-6.

indulged in the pleasure of desire she had become enceinte. After that all those Rākṣasīs became shamefaced and nourished¹ those children : Hu-śa also they made an object of worship, like a Deva. That one of their children who was the first-born became the husband of Hu-śa, and from them
 3826 arose the lineage of men of the Gold Race. Although they indulged in the pleasures of desire with the sons born of those merchants, they were all unable to gladden [them]² : hence, indeed, in consequence of having then been unable to gladden, after having promised the pleasure of desire, they were through the *karma* thereof perpetually born as women.³ From Hu-śa was born a child, who became the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa. The one who was the child of that Hu-śa became the king there.⁴ Afterwards, when the lineage of men had begun, the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa, being established upon that Gold Race mountain within a Peerless Abode⁵ of a Deva, taught religion to Devas and men and Rākṣasīs. At what time Hu-śa accomplished her time of dying, those five hundred Rākṣasīs and those Devas and Rākṣasas who had heard *dharma* from her became the present tutelary deities of the Gold Race country. She who at that time was the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa is this present Vimalaprabhā.

“ Here, having now become king of ’U-rgyan, is he who will be born as the first king of the Li country⁶ and will become

¹ *gsoi*.

² Or “ be glad ”, *ngu-bar-byed* : cf. p. 250.

³ It seems probable that a [folk]-etymology is intended ; if so, it remains to inquire whether it is based on an apparent negative in some Sanskrit word (*nārī*, *abalā*, etc.) or in the language of Khotan or of the Gold Country. In Tibetan the word for woman, *bud-med*, does contain a negative ; but the first part of it does not mean “ rejoice ”, and in any case the Tibetan text is a translation and so perhaps irrelevant in this matter, except as suggesting an analogy. On “ cold ” fiends see the Pāli *Jātaka*, ii. p. 128.

⁴ It will be seen that the story does not well distinguish between the original ogress Hu-śa and her daughter, the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa. This is quite natural, if the woman ruler was a sort of incarnation of the ogress. It will be seen that the position of the king as the son not of the king, but of the queen, is in accord, more or less, with what Hiuan-Tsang tells us of the “ Kingdom of Women ”.

⁵ *gzal-med-khan* : see p. 213, n. 5.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 192. “ Be born first as king of Li ” ?

the king of Skar-rdo¹ who, showing friendship, offers himself and his country. He here, who, having become king of Kaspara, said in the presence of the Holy One, 'May I become the father,' will become king Īśvara-varman, father of Vimalaprabhā.¹ She here who, having become the consort of the king of Kaspara, said, 'May I become the mother,' will be the chief consort of that king Īśvara-varman.² He here who, having become that Devī's brother, made aspiration, 'May I, being the dear brother, for whom she underwent a great sorrow, in that sorrow experience an untranquil contemplation,' will become the brother.³ She here who, having become the little young sister, made aspiration, 'At what time I shall die of grief, at that time may I, through your coming into the presence of a nun, your Pious Friend, there be saved from the transmigrating world,' will be the little younger sister.³ This little younger brother Vajrasena,⁴ who with you made aspiration for the Li country, having become your brother, will be king of Skar-rdo.⁵ He here who is city-guardian of king Ajātaśatru will be king of the Gold Race.⁶ She here, the woman who, while bestowing gifts, did not observe morality, will be wife of that king."⁷ 383b

Then at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, pronounced to the Devas: "At what time the hour befalls for this Devī to be first born in the Li country, then, upon admonition by the Bodhi-sattva Maitreya together with the Devas dwelling in Sukhavatī,⁸ the Deva who will previously have been Vajrasena, and the Devī who will previously have been Vimalaprabhā, and she who, having previously been her companion, has become a local deity,⁹ and together with her has made aspiration, being admonished by those Devas, 'Leave the Deva life and go into the life of men,'

¹ On the confusion, or obscurity, here see *supra*, pp. 192, n. 2.

² See *supra*, p. 194.

³ See *supra*, pp. 194-5 ("daughter").

⁴ *Rdo-rje-sde-hi-nu-bo-ṭha-cun.*

⁵ See pp. 195-6, 213, 227.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 200.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 201.

⁸ *Dgaḥ-ldan.*

⁹ This is the Chinese wife of Vajrasena; see p. 202 *supra*.

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will all be made to remember ; he who has been the city-ward of king Ajātaśatru and he who has been the son of that city-ward¹ will also be admonished by the Devas from the Deva-world. Those also who are become father and mother² and together have made aspiration, being then admonished by the Devas, 'The time having now befallen for what was pronounced by Buddha and for the aspirations which were made, take birth in the Li country', will be made to remember. Among them the Deva who is named the Bodhi-sattva Vajrasena will become king of the Li country ; she that is a woman of the race of local deities will during five³ successive lives be queen of the Li country ; in the sixth life, taking birth in the Li country, she will be consort of a Bodhi-sattva king. At what time the hour befalls for the *karma* of having taken the side of king Virūḍhaka, at that time as many as are in his lineage will become Sum-pas. At what time Sum-pas shall first have come into the Li country, at that time this Devī, having died out from among the Devas, will be daughter of the king of Skar-rdo. At what time the hour befalls for the *Ha-žas*⁴ and the Sum-pas to come, at that time this Devī Vimalaprabhā, taking this one who has been city-ward of king Ajātaśatru and who will have become her husband, will go with him into the Gold Country. At that time, those army forces having come there, her father, the king of Skar-rdo, and her eldest brother will both die in that battle.⁵ At that time Vimalaprabhā, afflicted with sorrow and abiding in the chamber of sorrow,⁶ no need to ask of other things,⁷ will have untranquil contemplations. At what time the hour befalls for the Li country to be in subjection to the Red-Faces, in that battle king Vijaya-Vikrama⁸ will be killed. To him will be born a son, named Vijaya-

¹ The king of the Gold Race and his eldest son : see pp. 200, 225 *supra*.

² The king of Kaspara and his wife, see p. 225 *supra*.

³ "Seven," p. 202.

⁴ On the *Ha-ža* see *supra*, p. 192.

⁵ i.e., apparently, in Skar-rdo.

⁶ See *supra*, pp. 215, n. 8, 228.

⁷ *gzan-la-dri-mi-dgos-par*.

⁸ *Rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi-ritsal*. Read *g-yul*, for *yul*, with B.M.

Kīrti.¹ The king of Skar-rdo, by name Īśvara-varman,² 384b
 together with his son, will die in battle along with the king
 of Li. He who at present is this Vajrasena, being his son,
 with the name Vijaya-Varman,³ will be king of Skar-rdo, and
 to him, when he shall have held the sovereignty during one
 year, will be born in the Li country Vijaya-Kīrti; in Skar-rdo ⁴
 Vijaya-Varman will be born : and, at what time the hour shall
 befall for Vimalaprabhā, while the Holy Buddhas have sent
 out lights over her, to attain Patience, at that time they will
 dispose in two several companies the party of Do-good and
 the party of Do-evil. At that time the father of both Do-good
 and Do-evil, the one who formerly⁵ exiled the 500 robbers and
 thieves, will be king, and there will be two Great Councillors.
 The prince named Vijaya-Kīrti will be king of the Li country ;
 the one named Vijaya-Varman will be king of Skar-rdo.
 Of those two youths Do-good fostered the Great Councillor
 Gtso-bo-śos,⁶ the other was fostered by Do-evil.⁷ At what
 time Do-good is born, at that time come 500 merchants,
 and, being born in the Li country, do good to the country.
 At what time Do-evil is born, those 500 exiled robbers and 385a
 thieves, being born in the Li country, do evil. At what time
 the youth Do-evil was born, those 500 robbers were brought
 before⁸ the king, his father : then at that time, an order
 being given, 'Do to one another what is to be done,' of those
 Great Councillors Gtso-bo had his hand cut off, while the
 other was executed. From the time when formerly Do-evil
 put out the eyes⁹ of Do-good and thereupon a rivalry

¹ *Rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi-grags-pa.*

² *Dbañ-phyug-go-cha.*

³ *Rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi-go-cha.*

⁴ These are apparently two young sons of Vijaya-Varman; possibly, however, there is some confusion in the text.

⁵ Sc. in the old story, see p. 181, n. 2. Text here confused.

⁶ The two opposing councillors are named respectively Gtso-bo-śos and Geig (or Cig)-śos; but, since śos seems to have the sense of "one", "other", it seems doubtful whether these are really proper names.

⁷ The construction seems to be (erroneously?) inverted.

⁸ *ṭhad-du-blañ.* Sc. in the story.

⁹ *mig-phyun-ba* : The occurrence belongs to the story of Kalyāṇam-kara, etc.

arose ¹ between the two councillors, they became in all lives enemies of one another. Of the two the Great Councillor Gtso-bo will be king of Skar-rdo ; Geig-sos will be king of the Li country. Those two subsequently will contend with one another. The partisans of Do-evil, who formerly put out the eyes of Do-good, will kill the king of the Li country.² At what time the hour befalls for the Red-Faces to seize the Li country, at that time the two ³ will be contending with one another : at that time the brother of the Devī Vimalaprabhā, at present named Vajrasena, will have become king of Skar-rdo, with the name Vijaya-Varman, and for that
 385b brother she will be afflicted with sorrow. At what time the hour befalls for the Buddha lights to take position above her, at that [time] the king of Skar-rdo will be defeated. But those ⁴ who made to Buddha, the Holy One, the aspiration, ' When they are without merits, may the *gandha-kutīs* and the retreats of the Saṃghas be destroyed,' will not help. At what time the Red-Faces with their [the Devas'] help shall seize the Li country and shall destroy the retreats of the Saṃghas and the *gandha-kutīs*, at that time the king of Skar-rdo will be defeated. At what time the hour shall befall for the coming of the Red-Faces before long, at that time Vimalaprabhā will become exceedingly sorrowful. At that time the Holy Buddhas and the Devas who are tutelaries of the Li country will meditate. Thereupon Vimalaprabhā, sitting alone in the chamber of sorrow, will make prayer to the Buddhas ; pronouncing the *dhāraṇī* ' *Amṛta-duṇḍubhi-ṣvara* ',⁵ she will make prayer to the Tathāgata Amitābha,
 386a ' Either may I meet my brother, or may I die, or may I be released from *saṃsāra*.' Then, on the morrow morning,

¹ *kho-na* (read *khon*, with B.M.)-*byun*.

² Which king ? It can hardly be Vijaya-Kīrti's father, Vijaya-Vikrama, who is stated above (pp. 226-7) to have died in battle with the Tibetans ? On p. 244 it is V.-Kīrti himself.

³ The two *parties* ?

⁴ The Devas : see *supra*, pp. 181-2, cf. p. 21.

⁵ *Gdud-rtsi-rna-sgra*. On this incident see *supra*, p. 215.

the Holy Buddhas will send out lights over her, and she will acquire a *dhāraṇī* and Patience. At that time, while the Buddhas and the Devas call out 'It is well', the sons of the Devas, ringing bells and making sounds of great drums and of music, will say 'The act of an Unrelapsing Bodhi-sattva has been done'. At that time, thinking 'They are rendering me honour for having shown gratitude to father and mother', she, herself knowing this, will do the first work. Previously, at what time Do-good, having let fall from the *cintāmaṇi* jewel a rain of jewels,¹ first made aspiration for the Great Councillor and for [the side of] Do-good, at that time some others, saying to one another, 'At what time we made aspiration, therefrom may we not fall back,'² will afterwards in every way help to prevent the doctrine from being even a little weakened. Also the Kumāra Vijaya-Varman, who will be king of Skar-rdo, will help. The Great Councillors of Do-evil's 386b party, even though they made aspiration for the sake of Do-good, will afterwards fall back therefrom."

At what time the Holy One pronounced these words, at that time Avalokiteśvara thus petitioned : "Let me also at that time admonish. While I shall teach the religion to them all, may they all haply grasp it, and, expounding it to others also, do the like. This sister of mine also has ever with me performed the actions of *Bodhi*."

Then at that time all the Devas rose and petitioned : "We also would be there." At that time they let fall over the Buddha, the Holy One, a rain of Deva-flowers and clashed Deva-cymbals. Then the Buddha, the Holy One, thus pronounced : "Those Holy Buddhas having sent forth those lights over her, and utterances according to the necessities of the occasion having come forth from those lights, she will in some way obtain the words of *dhāraṇīs*; at what time her brother Vijaya-Varman shall be defeated in battle, she will obtain a *dhāraṇī* for that occasion; and, having 387a

¹ Reference to the story of *Kalyāṇamkara*, etc.

² There seems to be here an omission in the text.

obtained those *dhāraṇīs*, she will obtain others also. For carrying out those acts which have been stated by the Holy One for the sake of the Li country, she will in the chamber of sorrow, where she sits weeping, obtain from those Holy Buddhas the *dhāraṇīs*."

[(387a 3). *There follow invocations to a number of Tathāgatas* (—387b 4), *and dhāraṇīs and sādhanas with statements as to their procedures and their effects, such as release from sorrow, purification from sin, riches, freedom from famine and harms* (387b 5), *siddhi in this or a later life* (388a 3), *level patience* (388a 6), *cure of disease* (388b 2), *fear of a king and so on* (the *Agni-sthāna dhāraṇī*, 389a 2) *and from sins* (389a 4), *relief from various sins and all fears* (390a 7), *safety from curses, effective samādhi, whatever is desired* (390a-b), *the divine eye and cure of eye-disease* (390b 3-6), *cure of diseases of the head and keenness of senses* (391a 4, cf. p. 208, n. 3), *the dhāraṇī Sarva-Buddha-hṛdaya* (391a 7), *Buddhahood and release from all pains* 391b 2).]

"At that time the Devī Vimalaprabhā spoke (*sic*)¹ thus : "As with these *dhāraṇīs* my brother has been delivered by me, so by these *dhāraṇīs* may I deliver all beings." When the Sum-pas come there, and the time shall come for the Red-Faces to seize the country, that will arise from *karma* as follows :—At what time the young man Do-evil was born,² those wild men had been born and had been brought before the king. Having come to the house of the Great Councillor Gtso-bo, they carried away his goods. Then they took his wife, one woman, sleeping at the door of his treasury, and killed her, fearing escape on the morrow. Then those wild men were taken and given into the hands of the Great Councillors. Also the children and wives and goods of those wild men were set before those Great Councillors. Then the Great Councillor Gtso-bo, being upright at heart, took back his [only] own goods in the daytime.³ Then the sister of that Great Councillor Gtso-bo, who chanced not to have

¹ i.e. "will speak".² See in the story.³ *ñi-tsheñi-no*.

slept¹ during the night and had observed the wild men come there, saw them also brought into the presence of the king. Then those children and wives were appropriated by the Great Councillor Cig-śos ; the goods were confiscated as the king's property ; the Great Councillor Cig-śos who had taken over the children and wives was not questioned by the king. Then, the wives of the chief of the wild men being given to the younger brother and son of the Great Councillor Cig-śos, some great persons,² whose sons and wives also had during the night been carried off by the wild men, did not get back their³ own children and wives. Then accordingly they made aspiration : ' At whatever time you attain the body of a man, at that time may we carry off your wife.' The chief of the wild men who had gone off taking the woman from the door of the treasury made aspiration : ' May I, Great Councillor [Gtso-bo], being born in your retinue, at what time you are busy, at that time, in order to trouble you,⁴ proclaim a great scandal.'⁵ Then of the noblewoman who had observed 392b the wild men come he inquired : ' Why did you say " I saw ? " ' She replied : ' Because I was afraid if I should tell a lie and because I was afraid I might suffer for the sin of it ⁶ in my own body.'

" Then that chief of the wild men made aspiration thus : ' In all times may I, in the guise of an intimate of that Great Councillor [Gtso-bo], act inimicably.'

" Of those persons the Great Councillor Gtso-bo will be king of Skar-rdo⁷ ; Cig-śos will be king of the Li country ; the younger brother of the Great Councillor Cig-śos will be one named Śad-ku-la⁸ ; he who was the son will be named

¹ *mi-ñal-bar-hchags-na-hchags-pas.*

² *chen-bo(sic)-cig* : But should it not be Gtso-bo, the Great Councillor ?

³ Should this be " his " ?

⁴ *khyod-kyi-sems-akrug-cin.*

⁵ *gtam-nan* : Or " bad news ".

⁶ Read *myon*(for *mon*)-bar.

⁷ The text has *sa-skar-rdo.*

⁸ On the form of this and the following names see *supra*, p. 159.

Puṇyavardhana¹; he who was the robber chief will be named Bi-te-ku-la²; of the two men who killed the wife of the Great Councillor the one will be named 'A-kun, the other will be named Ōu-(Du ?)-pa-la³; of their⁴ wives who made aspiration the one will be named Aśokā,⁵ the other will be named Supriyā⁶; that Great Councillor's wife who slept at the door of the treasury is the wife of Pi-de-ku-la, carried off by the king of Skar-rdo⁷; she that was the mother of the wild men will be the mother of those who capture the wild men and will be their associate.

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"The king-killer⁸ made aspiration thus: 'May I, haply given [by you] as bride, kill you.' Therefore, the king of Li gave Aśokā,⁹ to 'A-kun; and the king of Skar-rdo will carry off the wife of Pi-de-ku-la. Afterwards there will be enmity between them. Those who are on the side of Do-good will do good in the Li country; those who were the wild men will do evil in the Li country.

"Also those wild men who carried off the wife spoke thus to the Great Councillor and made aspiration: 'Since you, acting according to right, have decided the charge according to the fact,¹⁰ taking back your own goods in the daytime, may we, in whatever you attempt rightfully, therein be your associates.'

"Du-pa-la, having formerly, at the time when he was the Li king's man, made aspiration, will be an associate of the king of Skar-rdo. When the time comes therefor, the wife of

¹ *Bsod-nams-l̥phel*, perhaps a monk = Puṇyananda, p. 237?

² Apparently identical with Pi-de-ku-la and Pid(Piñ)-ku-la(li) below. The text has Sa-bi[B.M. pi]-te-ku-la.

³ B.M. 'A-ku-na and Tu-pa-la: mentioned *infra*, pp. 234, 255.

⁴ ? "his," sc. the Great Councillor's?

⁵ *Mya-nan-dan-bral-ba*.

⁶ *Rab-sdug*.

⁷ The text has *Pi-de*[B.M. *Pid*]-*ku-laḥi-chun-ma-las-Skar-rdoḥi-rgyal-pos-khyer-ba-yin-no*. The person is Rab-ñes' sister or daughter (pp. 195, 225).

⁸ It seems, then, that Vijaya-Kīrti's death (p. 244) was due to Aśokā.

⁹ *Mya-nan-med-paḥi*: Apparently a syllable is lost at the end; perhaps two syllables.

¹⁰ *yus-yod-pa-bzin-du-btan*.

Pid-ku-li (*sic*) will be carried off by the king of Skar-rdo : and at that time, when a great scandal¹ is published by Piñ-ku-la, she, thinking, ' If even this man conceives that which is inconceivable,² what is the use of this body ? ', will at that time be greatly dejected. At that time, remembering her former store of good, she will think, ' This is the end of being born as a woman : this must be remembered as a pronouncement of Buddha.' Then, when in the midst of the lake she shall obtain the root of the lay-worshipper's duties,³ at that time, on uttering the ' *Ānanda* ' ⁴ *dhāraṇī*, she will there reach the Trance whereby she will remember her lives and will also [find] patience. 393b

" Then, not long after, the [Li] country will have been seized by the Red-Faces. At what time they first essay to go into the Li country, at that time the Holy Buddhas and the Devas, tutelaries of the Li country, and the four Great Kings and the Yakṣa Saṃjaya and Hāritī with her child and the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara will all come to the *stūpa* of Ka-pi-la-na⁵ and there in the presence of the Holy One will expound the *dhāraṇī*. At that time will come from the *stūpa* itself spontaneous utterance, ' With armies of the northern region and so forth about to arrive, it is altogether unendurable.'⁶

" At that time the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara and the Devas and Hāritī with her child will all come there, arrayed 394a in the garb of grief, and will speak thus : ' When the armies of the Red-Faces come and destroy the *gandha-kuṭīs* and *stūpas* and retreats of the Saṃghas, may we in some way lend help, so that the whole country be not destroyed.' Then at that time Vimalaprabhā spoke (*sic*) thus : ' What I must

¹ *gtam-nan*. This sentence is confused or imperfect.

² *mi-bsams-pa-sams-pa-las-na* : Possibly the scandal was that the lady consented. The king of Skar-rdo was her uncle (p. 232, n. 7).

³ *dge-bśñen-maḥi-bślab-pa-ḥi-gzi* = *upāsikā-śikṣā-mūla*.

⁴ *Kun-tu-dgaḥ-ba*.

⁵ = Kapila with superfluous *-na*, on which see *supra*, p. 92, n. 5. Concerning the *stūpa* itself see p. 187, n. 3.

⁶ *šin-tu-mi-zad-pa*.

do, pray pronounce. For the sake of the country, even though my life is taken in forfeit,¹ to that I am not attached.' Then the Devas spoke (*sic*) thus : 'Now there is one only means : if haply all the men of the country will indite twenty-one times the Mahāyāna *sūtra*, *Lotus of the Good Law*, and, in order to make donation of religion to the Devas who guard the religious text,² *Lotus of the Good Law*, and to the Rākṣasas and Rākṣasīs named in that *sūtra*, will recite it [before] the *stūpa* of 'A-śva-dam-pa³ and put there savoury food⁴ and also make ready those lamps.' Then Vimalaprabhā spoke (*sic*) thus : 'Since I have not power to cause all to be asked on behalf of the land and to be set reading, I myself, for the sake of the country, will read and will set savoury food and make ready those lamps.'

"At what time Vimalaprabhā begins to read the *Lotus of the Good Law* and to put there the savoury food, at that time the Red-Faces, in the first year, will attempt to come into the country. Afterwards, in the third year, they will be able to come. The 500 wild men who at that time will be helping Do-evil will at that time be seized by wild men. At that time Vimalaprabhā, being distracted, will herself no longer read the *Lotus of the Good Law*, and will not spread out the savoury foods. Then the Red-Faces, coming up⁵ from their own country, prepare in the first autumn month to enter the Li country. At that time the king of Li⁶ is not pleased with the Rākṣasī⁷ Vimalaprabhā. Du-pa-la and 'A-kun also,⁸ being both at that time distracted, do not read, do not spread the savoury food, do not put ready the lamps.

¹ *yal-du-zin*.

² *chos-kyi-rnam-graṅs* = *dharma-paryāya*.

³ Is this perhaps the *stūpa* of 'A-dha-ma, concerning which see *supra*, p. 91.

⁴ No doubt, for the Rākṣasas, etc. : see p. 207.

⁵ *hphags*.

Vijaya-Kīrti ?

⁷ This is the only place where Vimalaprabhā is actually called a Rākṣasī : B.M. has 'sister' (*srīṇ*).

⁸ Du-pa-la and 'A-kun, ex-"Wild men", are apparently acting with Rab-nes.

Then the Devas, engaging in battle in the country of Tsar-min-de,¹ will be defeated. At that time, when, on the 395a fourteenth day of the *pravāraṇā*,² Vimalaprabhā has uttered the *dhāraṇī*, the Devas there spoke (*sic*) a displeased word : 'Whereas you said, "I will every day duly read the religious text *Lotus of the Good Law*," through your not having read it we have been defeated by Sum-pas, who will come here.'"³

¹ Tsar-min-de[B.M. *dha*] is not otherwise known. Is it "the *Parish* (*tshar*) Min-de?"

² *dgag-dbye*.

³ According to the indications contained in pp. 233-9 the sequence of events is as follows :—

Year 1 : First approach of Tibetans. Avalokiteśvara expounds the Ānanda *dhāraṇī*. Rab-ñes commences her reading of the *Lotus sūtra* and other ritual (pp. 233-4).

Year 3 : Arrest of "wild men" who favour Do-evil. Khotan king displeased with Rab-ñes.

— First autumn month : Arrival of Tibetans and defeat of the Khotan Devas.

— — : day 14 : The Devas rebuke Rab-ñes (pp. 234-5).

— Third winter month : The Devas encourage Rab-ñes.

— — : day 15 : Arrival of Sum-pas. Rab-ñes receives encouragement and *dhāraṇīs* : recital of *dhāraṇīs* during one month (pp. 237-8).

Year 4 : First spring month : day 14 : Arrival of Dharmākara Buddhas (p. 238).

— Third spring month : Defeat of Pa-lan Sum-pas (p. 238).

— — : day 14 : Vijaya-Varman vows to ransom Khotan and restore shrines (p. 239).

CHAPTER IV

395a Then at that time the Devī Vimalaprabhā petitioned the Holy One thus: "O Holy One, be pleased to tell what previously has befallen and how hereafter it shall be, and how haply I shall remember." Then the Holy One thus pronounced: "Whereas in times not come it shall be thus in this land, in regard thereto this must be said: When the sovereignty of the Li land shall be seized by the Sum-pas, among them will be one who, at what time king Virūḍhaka led his army into the Śākya country, was a man of the Śākya country in the king's entourage and went to fight as a friend of the Śākyas.¹ Subsequently, having been born as another man, he there made aspiration: 'Since through your (sc. Buddha's) having made all the Śākyas adhere to the teaching they did not fight even when the enemy came into their land, in time not come, wherever your relics and teaching shall have come into being, may I haply destroy the retreats of the Saṃghas and the great *stūpas*.'"

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Then, calling to Avalokiteśvara, the Holy One pronounced: "Dear younger brother, remember how, at what time the Holy One, Ratnagarbha, went into the city, we there both together received prediction of Buddhahood." Then again the Holy One pronounced to Avalokiteśvara: "Dear younger brother, when in that Li land the time shall have befallen for it to be so, that land shall not be in any way even a little destroyed."

Then at that time the Holy One pronounced to Mañibhadra thus: "Since the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara and I so purpose, take to that 'U-rgyan² land this command also as I shall direct."

Then, at what time the Holy One thus thought of the Sum-pas in the Li land, at that time he thus pronounced

¹ For the story see Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 117-18.

² Apparently the monk named below comes from Udyāna, a curious coincidence, since Padmasaṃbhava, born A.D. 724, was living when this *sūtra* was composed.

to Avalokiteśvara : "Dear younger brother, at what time 396a
the hour befalls for the Li land to be so, do you at that time
take your opportunity."¹ "Then at that time, taking a shape
with the signs of Avalokiteśvara, he will give it to a monk,
who, wearing it, will go into the Li land there. At that time
the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara will incite the Devas in
charge of the Li country and its army troops. Likewise
that monk will subsequently, when born in the Gold
Country, be named Puṇyananda.² At what time he shall
pass away in death, at that time he shall go to a very pure
Buddha-realm. At what time the Sum-pas shall come, at that
time, at midnight on the fifteenth of the last winter month,
they³ will call out to Vimalaprabhā thus : 'O Rabs(sic)-
nes, an army is come into the Li land.' The king also, coming
back,⁴ says : 'The country has fallen upon a very evil⁵
time.' The Yakṣa Kapila also speaks thus : 'As many Devas
and Yakṣas as there are who together with you have under-
taken to protect the Li country, command them that haply
they may protect the Gold Land and haply it may not be 396b
destroyed by the Sum-pas.' They also speak thus : 'We
will give wishing-jewels whereby you will be able to do your
work and haply the Sum-pas will be repelled and the king
also will come back into his own land.' At that time they
give *dhāraṇīs* whereby you shall there know in full all
the religious teachings of the Buddhas : thus : 'U-ka-se-mu-
ka-se | 'U-ku-ru-mu-ku-phu-ru-svāhā. | ; thus : Ni-dzi-te-bi-
rdzi-te | bha-śi-te-dharma-skandha-'Aparardzite-'Indravardzite-
phu-svāhā. | And they say, 'During one month, at the time of
afternoon⁶ these *dhāraṇīs* are to be recited 108 hundred times ;
and such *dhāraṇīs* are to be taught as we shall have taught you.'
At what time Rabs-nes, after having during one month made

¹ *skabs-phye-śig*.

² *Bsod-nams-la-dgaḥ-ba* = Puṇyavardhana, cf. p. 232 ?

³ *de-dag* : Meaning, perhaps, Avalokiteśvara and Puṇyananda.

⁴ Sc. from the battle ?

⁵ Read *mi-bzan* in place of *ni-bzad*.

⁶ *phyem-red*.

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muttered recitation of the *dhāraṇīs*, recites on the fourteenth day of the first spring month the *dhāraṇīs* which she is set by the Devas to recite, at that time on the upper chamber of the front-chamber of meditation ¹ the Tathāgata Śākya-muni and the Tathāgata Akṣobhya and the Tathāgata Ratnaketu and the Tathāgata Amitābha and the Tathāgata Dundubhiṣvara and as many Holy Buddhas as shall there be abiding—all those Holy Buddhas coming there in religious procession ² together, there arrive there Buddhas, a *dharmākara*,³ as numerous as the sands of the Ganges river. The thirty-two Deva kings also will arrive there; and, they having on the fourteenth day come into the presence of Vimalaprabhā, who will have become Rab-ñes, the Pa-lañ-ba Sum-pas ⁴ will, assuredly, in the last spring month be repelled. The *dhāraṇīs* whereby at that time the Sum-pas will be repelled and a famine also will be prevented from arising and those Tathāgatas named *dharmākara* will [be caused to] come, those *dhāraṇīs* also I give. 'Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmadhara! ⁵ Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmavirakula! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmabhāsa! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmamudita! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmasthāna! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmaketu! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmaraśmi! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmavaśa! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmasthira! Hail to the Tathāgata Dharmakūṭa! Thus: Bu - bu - bu - bu - dharma - ai - bā - ṣṭha - te - bu - 'a - 'a - 'a - 'a | Da - kul - 'adhiṣṭhite - ban - dza - rai - phug - tsa - rai - phu | Bi - bi - bi - bi - phu ! Sa - sa - sa - sa - phu - kau - kau - kau - kau - phu - hā - hā - hā - hā - phu - svāhā | ' This *dhāraṇī*,

¹ *bsam-gtan-gyi-mdun-khañ-gi-stein-khañ-du*: cf. *hog-khañ-bar-khañ-stein-khañ-khor-sa-bar* in the *Rgyal-rabs*, fol. 36a 6, *Padma-thaṅ-yig*. II, 31b. 1.

² *chos-bgro-ba*.

³ *chos-kyi-lhbyun-gnas* "a mine of religion". On a Bhikṣu *Dharmākara*, see M. Demiéville, *BÉFE-O*, xxiv, pp. 233-7.

⁴ See p. 242, n. 7.

⁵ *Chos-hdzin*. The Tibetan names of the others in succession are (1) *Chos-dpañ-baḥi(sic)-rigs*, (2) *Chos-snañ*, (3) *Chos-dgyes*, (4) *Chos-gnas*, (5) *Chos-kyi-tog*, (6) *Chos-kyi-rji-brjid*, (7) *Chos-dbañ*, (8) *Chos-brtan*, (9) *Chos-brtsegs*.

named 'Earth-holding',¹ should be muttered 108 times by persons in a flurry: this being done, they will be free therefrom. It is also to be muttered at what time armies are come."

"Then at that time, for the sake of Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī who will have become Rab-ñes, the Holy Buddhas make the king of Skar-rdo, Vijaya-varman, on the fourteenth day of the month there take a vow.² At what time the Chinese and Sum-pas shall come there, at that time, if he shall obtain the rule of the Li land, he will pay with ransom³ for the land. The *gandha-kuṭīs* and retreats of the Saṃghas and the *stūpas* burned by the Red-Faces [he] will restore. When, in some years, the land is settled in 398a happiness and plenty⁴ and content, at that time [he] will send this *dhāraṇī*: *Namo Dharma-tsintākulasya | Tathāgata-sya* |: thus: *Tsa-tsa-tsa-tsa* | 'Ā-'ān-'ā | *Ru-tsa-na-gandhe* | *Pa-ru-ra-gandhe* | *Ro-dha-na-ti-ṣṭhite-ku-la-'adhiṣṭhite-svāhā*! [(398a 2). *There follow directions for performance of the sādhana by one who desires to find treasure and wealth in plenty* (398b 3)]."

Then at that time the Holy One pronounced to the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara thus: "At that time do you make Rab-ñes to remember, and explain to her this procedure in full. Those who act according to Buddha's command, the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara and Īśvara-deva and Drumeśvara-rāja⁵ and Karuṇeśvara and Tyāgaprabheśvara⁶ and Gandharveśvara and Gaṇeśvara and Lokeśvara and Prabheśvara and Kuleśvara and Dharmeśvara—all those Bodhi-sattvas⁷ will come there. Teaching this *dhāraṇī*, they will say, 399a 'Let Rab-ñes recite this *dhāraṇī*' [399a 1. *There follows a long account of the ritual, which saves from all alarms, from*

¹ *sa-hdzin-pa*.

² *dam-pa-stsol-bar-mdzad* could mean simply "give a pledge".

³ *blus-hjal-bar*.

⁴ *lo-legs-pa*, "good seasons".

⁵ *Ljon-paḥi-dbañ-phyug-rgyal-po*.

⁶ *Spoñ-baḥi-hod-kyi-dbañ-phyug*.

⁷ Cf. pp. 217, 256.

ills due to kings, robbers, enemies, poison, weapons, fire, etc., foreign armies, wild beasts, snakes, the sea, the noose of death (*kāla-pāśa*), and sorrow, accomplishes all purposes, and relieves from disease. The ritual. The *dhāraṇī* is named *Ārya-Avalokiteśvara-varman*, and the ritual agrees with that of the 'Horse-stall' *vidyā-mantra*. The *dhāraṇī* is also to be used on the occasion of the 'Gold-lotus ceremonial' (*Suvarṇa-padma-vidhi-pūjā*) 399a 6-401a 6]. At that time this *sūtra* also is to be sent into the land of the Gold Race."

At that time those Holy Buddhas spoke thus :—

401b "As many men as shall be born in that kingdom of Li, the sign manual of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, are all sure of Supreme Perfect Illumination and unrelapsing, everyone. The aged and the children among them, as many as work merit, may all make confident prayer¹ for Supreme Perfect Illumination. If it occurs to them to doubt, 'Why, whereas this Li kingdom again and again tends² to be ruined, will it not be able to be ruined?', it is because, so long as the doctrine of Buddha stands, 500 Bodhi-sattvas, foreshown by Buddha to reach Supreme Perfect Illumination, shall there take birth: three hundred stationed in the fashion of monks and nuns, two hundred as laymen and laywomen and attendants of the king, and men and women, and old men and children, those Bodhi-sattvas are settled in the Li kingdom, for benefit to the beings in that Li kingdom and to safeguard the doctrine. This Elder, Subhūti, by whom the Holy One was asked for the Mahāyāna *sūtra Prajñā-pāramitā*, will know those monks to have arisen from energy.³ 402a 'At that time why will that Li land not be ruined?'—if this is said, we, the Tathāgata Śākya-muni and those Dharmākara Tathāgatas and the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara, have blessed that country that the *stūpas* and *gandha-kūṭās* and retreats of the Saṃghas shall not at all be ruined by the

¹ *yoṅs-su-sno-ba*.

ḥdod.

dye-slon-brtson-bgrus-las-byun [B.M. *byan*]-*ba-de*: The sense is obscure.

Ba-bdag¹ Sum-pas. The Tathāgata Śākya-muni knew that in company with the Tathāgata Vimala-śrī-candana-garbha,² occupying the *stūpa* Kapilana, he had performed a Buddha's acts. At that time those who have become the men of the city, the monks, and attendants of the king, and also many born as [ordinary] men, will be deeply dejected at the thought that the Sum-pas are coming to ruin the *stūpas* of Buddha and the retreats of the Saṃghas. Thereupon those Holy Buddhas who will have become men, guardians of the *stūpa* of Kapilana, [will] conceive in their minds the thought, 'We must cause the Buddha, the Holy One,³ to come into the city.'⁴ At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, shall come inside the city, at that time the Holy Dharmākara Buddhas will come into the *stūpa* of Kapilana and discipline the Devas so as to purge their grief. At that time, in the night, Vimalaprabhā, who has become Rab-ñes, hears the sound of the Devas weeping. Having heard the sound of the weeping, and thinking, 'May be,⁵ wicked men are coming into this city,' she is terrified and alarmed, and recites *dhāraṇīs*. Then the Buddhas speak thus: 'Pray religiously to the Buddha, the Holy One, to come into the city.' Then she prays the Buddha to come, in manifest form as he is, by the gate of the city.⁶ At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, shall enter the city, the Holy Buddhas who emitted the lights and from whom those utterances came will there make prediction to that Rab-ñes, 'In times not yet come, in a region of the world called 'As Woman Famed',⁷ you will become a Holy Buddha, named 'Religion-sound, grasping in hand a Treasure of Gems'.⁸ At 402b 403a

¹ So read in place of *bdag-cag*, which does not construe.

² *Dri-ma-med-paḥi-dpal-tsandan-gyi-sñin-po*.

³ See p. 218, n. 3.

⁴ Perhaps an image is meant.

⁵ *grāh*.

⁶ Concerning "the city" see *supra*, pp. 166-7, 218, n. 3.

⁷ *Bud-med-du-grags-pa*, p. 198, n. 4.

⁸ See *supra*, p. 198, n. 5.

that time she who has become Rab-nes and those Buddhas who before the *stūpa* of Kapilana emit the lights will join together with the Saṃghas of monks of the Gold Country, and, in order haply to free them from that subjection to the Sum-pas, will save them from their former sin of taking what was not given. Thereupon, the story having been reported, the Sum-pas will attain the unrelapsing stage.¹ Then at that time Rab-nes will there discipline all those beings who shall again be part of her retinue."²

Then the Buddha, the Holy One, thus pronounced: "If you have conceived a doubt why in times not yet come the Ba-dag³ Sum-pas will destroy the *gandha-kuṭīs* and retreats of the Saṃghas in my country, or why the Ba-dag Sum-pas are so named, in time past there arose a king named Brahma-datta, and in his country there was one named Parivrājaka Bodhi.⁴ Being expelled from the country by king Brahma-datta, he arrived in the country of another king. Thinking
403b 'Here I will eat casual⁵ roots and fruits', he there settled, having made a hut of leaves. Then a woman who was there pasturing a chief's cattle saw that Parivrājaka and conceived a pure thought: every day, saying 'Partake of my food', she provided him with food.⁶ The cattle not being property of the woman herself, but of the chief, that food given to Parivrājaka belonged to *him*. The milk, not her own property, which she gave to Parivrājaka was taken without being given. Afterwards the man who had been the owner of those bullocks⁷ took birth in the Śākya country.

¹ i.e. the Sum-pas, on hearing the report, will be converted.

² *phyis-lkhor-du-hgyur-pa*.

³ Printed *bdag*: but *ba-dag* or *ba-bdag* [*sic* B.M. here], pp. 241, 243.

⁴ *Kun-tu-rgyu* - [*byaṅ-chub*] = *parivrājaka* (Tshe-riñ-dbañ-rgyal's dictionary).

⁵ *phan-tshun-du* "hither and thither"?

⁶ *kha-zas-hgron* (*don?*)-*du-gñer*.

⁷ *ba-laṅ*: Sc. the bullocks attached to the cows which supplied the milk. In this parable the expression is chosen in order to bring in the Ba-laṅ (p. 238), as well as the Ba-dag, Sum-pas. Since the Ba-dag Sum-pas are the people of Badakshan (see *supra*, p. 158), it is likely that the Ba-laṅ Sum-pas are the people of the Po-la or Po-lan, mentioned by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 139. 140.

He made aspiration, ' In time not yet come, O Holy One, may your teaching be ruined by me.' This must be regarded as not alterable. The Sum-pa king who ruins the Li country is that man. He who was Parivrājaka am I, the Holy One, Śākya-muni. The woman by whom the milk was given to Parivrājaka is this noblewoman [Sujātā] by whom the first food was presented to Buddha when he rose up from his self-mortifications."

Then at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, thus pronounced : " The cause why the Sum-pas and the Red-Faces come into that my country is this. There was a 404a king named Bimbisāra.¹ At that time there was in that king's country another woman who had a son. He went abroad² to plough a field ; and on his piece another man ploughed. Then the woman's son stole a bag and a trough and flour and some goods belonging to that man. Because of the theft of flour and goods the Ba-bdag Sum-pas and the Red-Faces will come into the Li country. The woman's son who carried off the flour and bag and the trough and the goods will be the king of Li.³ The man whose⁴ bag and other things were robbed will at that time be the king of the Red-Faces. The cattle⁵ will at that time be the men of [his] army. The woman who was the mother of that man will at that time be the mother of the king of Li. The flour having been received by the mother of the man who took what was not given and having been given as alms to a disciple of Buddha, a monk named Nagarabhadra,⁶ in virtue of that store of good she will take birth as a man (p. 244). The man (son) having given the flour to his mother and the mother having presented it to the monk Nagarabhadra, he, having

¹ *Gzugs-can-sñin-po.*

² *phyi-rol-tu.* " Piece " is *ldab.*

³ *Vijaya-Kīrti.*

⁴ Read *gan-gi* [B.M.] in place of *gan-gie.*

⁵ The cattle which drew the plough. There is, no doubt, some malice in making the Tibetans descend from cattle, a compliment which even the Sum-pas escape. Possibly the " bag " and " trough " which are owing to them are also, in the original tongue, etymologically derivative.

⁶ *Gron-khyer-mdzes.* Here again we have, in the choice of the name *Nagarabhadra*, a tacit reference to the Nagar country.

thus accumulated merit, in times not yet come will become
 404b in Li one named Hero-hide,¹ and for that cause will be named
 Vijaya-Varman; having obtained the sovereignty, he will
 fight a battle in Skar-rdo. When she who gave the flour took
 birth for that cause as a man, that man ploughed rice by the
 side of the road. The men who there [took and] ate some
 little of the rice² will at that time be monks; and because
 of that they will pay the property of the Saṃgha as ransom
 for the country. The various birds³ who there ate the rice
 will at that time be servants of the king of Li."

At that time the Holy One thus pronounced: "Thus (*sic*)
 many wild men shall arise in the Li country. At what time the
 youth Do-good is alive, they will be of service to him.⁴ At
 what time Do-evil is alive they will do harm to him. At
 that time those 500 wild men will be brought before the
 king, his father. Taking birth in the Li country, those wild
 men will waste the property of the Saṃghas and the
 property of the *stūpas*. In consequence of having previously
 taken what was not⁵ given those wild men suffer dismember-
 ment and death: therefore they will kill Vijaya-Kīrti, the
 405a king of Li.⁶ In times not yet come there will be born a monk
 named Candraruci,⁷ who saves those wild men from trans-
 migration. He is this Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī, who plays
 the part of father of former Buddhas. So this Bodhi-sattva
 Mañjuśrī will obtain relics of the Holy Buddhas of the

¹ *Dpah-sbed*. It is clear that a folk-etymology is intended, and it seems specially unfortunate that the Tibetan has here given us a translation, and not a transliteration, of the name, since it is the name of the hero of the book. It is conceivable, however, that *sbed* "conceal", "hide," represents something like *wah-ma* in the Khotan language; for we have already had occasion (p. 103, n. 1, *supra*) to suggest the possibility of such a meaning of *wah-ma* (if correctly so to be read), and this might also account for the choice of the royal title *Vijaya-Varman*.

² *hbras-can* (read *chañ-chuñ*).

³ Here again malice is apparent.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 232.

⁵ Read *shon-ma*, with B.M.; *shon-na* (so printed ?) seems not to occur.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 228, n. 2.

⁷ Śubhacandra (*Zla-ba-dag-pa*) (?).

Good Æon who will be in times not yet come. At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, has passed into *parinirvāṇa*, at that time the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī will be a religious¹ Brahman, named Droṇa-sagotra. At what time the kings shall be prepared to fight in battle with one another, at that time the Brāhman Droṇa-sagotra, taking a *bhadrāghaṭa*,² distributes the relics.³ At what time Bodhi-sattvas shall for the most part not have arisen in the Li country and *stūpas* for the most part and images of Buddha and pleasant retreats of Saṃghas shall not have arisen, at that time the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī will be born in the city and will be a noblewoman.⁴ ‘What like will be the actions of the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī?’—if this is asked, having a form in all points answering all desires and with an aspect corresponding to the nature of a Bodhi-sattva, with the aspect of a king, like a queen, a recluse,⁵ a Brahman in form, he will everywhere enter among the beings who belong to the realm of desire. A paṇḍit of music,⁶ learned in the departments of music, he will display, as it were, all varieties of form. Even in the presence of⁷ beings of impassioned minds he will show great superiority. ‘Why does the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī display a woman’s form?’—if this is asked, because women, having minds exceedingly impassioned with desire, in desiring superiority are exceedingly ignorant and covetous, therefore does the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī show superiority as a woman. Since there are women who even perform the actions of *Bodhi*, therefore also does the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī so act. It is a time for one born as a woman to attain to the Great Compassion. Even

¹ *chos-dan-ldan-pa*, = *dhārmika*, probably implies “Buddhist”. On Droṇa and the “war of the relics” see Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 46.

² *bum-pa-bzan-po*, a special sort of vessel for collecting donations: see de la Vallée Poussin, *Le Musée*, pp. 299-300.

³ *hgyed*[B.M. *hgyed*]-*pa* = *hbyed-pa*. This is the famous division of Buddha’s relics, which Vimalaprabhā will copy.

⁴ So. Rab-ñes.

⁵ *dge-sbyon* = *sramana*.

⁶ “Acting” is, no doubt, included.

⁷ *thad-du* = “in comparison with”, “in the view of” (*than-du*)?

406a women there shall be who shall be modest and reflecting upon the evils of this transient life and avoiding other men.

"At what time the Devī Vimalaprabhā realizes that the Ba-dag¹ Sum-pa have come there and that they will burn the great *stūpas* and many *gandha-kutīs* and pleasant retreats of the monks, at that time the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara speaks to that Devī thus: 'Dear sister, remember the time when the Holy One, Ratnagarbha, entered the city and, I having become your Pious Friend, we both made aspiration for *Bodhi*, and [prayed] "May all beings affrighted with fear be protected by us". Dear sister, remember the command of the Holy One, received by you at the time when you were the Devī Vimalaprabhā, and by Vajrasena. Those *dhāraṇās* and those Buddha-names and those rays which at the time of performing the acts of a Bodhi-sattva you saw here, those, 406b fully expounded by me, do you receive and write and convey into the presence of your brother: inasmuch as those Buddhas in the world-realms of the *Sahā* universe who sent the lights and the Bodhi-sattvas of the Good *Æon* into this *Li* land, which is the sign manual of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, will there take birth for the good of the living beings.'

"The many relics of all those Holy Buddhas which are in the *Dharmarāja stūpas* will come into the hand of that Devī. She will distribute² them to those beings for worship. In that land that Devī will cause [the relics] to be held in affection and haply to become an object of worship. Then within the city it shall be pleasant as a home. Haply the people, as many as abide in that city, shall accomplish merits and shall display seriousness³ and devoutness and cheerfulness, and haply shall fix upon that course of life. 'Why do the Buddhas, the Holy Ones, make on behalf of the *Li* land free passage for religion?'⁴—if this is asked, it is because the *Li* land is the sign manual of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, and the sign manual of all the Holy Buddhas of the Good

¹ Written [B.M. Ba-]bdag. ² *bged-par* from *hgyed*: see p. 245, n. 3.

³ *hdzin-pa* = *dhṛti*?

⁴ *chos-gan-dag-par-hgro-ba* = *dharma-samaya*?

Æon, and because on the hill Gośīrṣa¹ and at the *stūpa* Go-ma-sa-la-gandha all the Buddhas of the Good Æon shall assemble, and the Li land shall be a home of Bodhi-sattvas." 407a

Then to the Bodhi-sattva Ārya Avalokiteśvara the Buddha, the Holy One, thus pronounced : " At what time the hour befalls for the Red-Faces and the Chinese to fight, at that time the hour will have befallen for you, younger brother, to act. Rab-ñes also will [have] take[n] birth, as you know, for the good of living beings. Those Holy Buddhas having despatched their lights here and sent [them as] presents to the Holy One, Śākya-muni, those presents also will come there, brought by the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara ; and Buddha-realms have arisen (*sic*) through compassion for the good of beings affrighted with fear. Those *dhāraṇīs* and those lights also, received by Buddha on behalf of the Li land, will assist. The Bodhi-sattvas also, in order that the Li land may in no way be ruined, will pass away in death from various Buddha-realms and there take birth. At what time harms shall have arisen in the Li land, at that time the names of those Buddhas and those *dhāraṇīs* and those names of lights should be written and set up at the gates of the city and in the armies inscribed and attached to the banners : or men appointed to carry those names should be ordered to read them out and wear them. They are also of service in allaying foreign hosts and famine, in augmenting the party of good and in cleansing sins and relieving from disease. 407b

" Whoever has heavy sins should during twenty-one days do worship to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, and then, having in the presence of *stūpas* with relics or of Buddha images performed constant² muttering, he will attain what on the side of good he desires : those lights, too, will be set over him. Also when foreign armies come, muttering is to be done, or reading seven times each day. If any shall be in grief, or disease, or according as desired, muttering should be done, or reading. Further, even if without reading [the

¹ *Ri-glan-ru.*

² *dus-gsum-du.*

dhāraṇīs] are put upon a cord with seven knots and attached thereto with muttering, he will be released from grief. If put on
 408a the gate of a city, to that city no enemy will be able to come."

Then the Holy One thus pronounced: "At what time the hour comes for the Red-Faces and the Chinese to fight, at that time Kumāra Vajrasena, who, appointed to the task by the Holy One, will have become Vijaya-Varman, should convey this message into the Gold Race country and show it to the king of the Gold Race. It is not to be shown under the eyes of many persons. Some should be sent there to convey the ransom of the land: some should be left in Skar-rdo."

At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, had thus pronounced, "Formerly thus has it been: in times not yet come thus shall it be," at that time the Holy One sank absorbed in a Trance called *Vajra-maṇḍala* ¹ (408a 6—then 9 other Trances
 408b are named—408b 2). While the Buddha, the Holy One, abode absorbed in these ten Trances, from the juncture ² of his brows there issued a light called "The Great Shining". From that light issued ten lights, which went into all Buddha-realms, and, having reached them, flew into innumerable Buddha-realms. As many as are the Buddha-realms of Holy Buddhas, in all of them arose those utterances in words, such as previously had been made manifest in the Li land for the sake of Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā. Then at that time those Holy Buddhas, in accord with the meditation of the Holy One, Śākya-muni, uttered this *Vajra-maṇḍala*
 409a *dhāraṇī* [408b 6—409a 1 give the formula]. This *Vajra-maṇḍala dhāraṇī* having been uttered by all the Buddhas, at what time the Devī Vimalaprabhā hears it, forthwith ³ she will realize the *Vajra-maṇḍala dhāraṇī*. At what time the Buddhas, for the good of the Li land, uttered this *dhāraṇī*, at that time the Devī Vimalaprabhā, with clasped hands, thus petitioned: "I, O Buddha, Holy One, myself know. From a perfectly pure Buddha-realm, from the realm of the Holy Buddha,

¹ *Rdo-rje-ḥi-dkyil-ḥkhor.*² *gseb.*³ *deḥi-mod-la.*

'Intuition Flowers All Expanded,' king of the constellation 'Lotus-petal Immaculate' in the world-realm called 'Variously adorned with Illuminating-Light', I came into this realm of the Sahā world in order to serve my mother¹ and to take charge of the *Lotus of the Good Law* and to make aspiration in the presence of the Tathāgata Śākya-muni. Having been the lay-worshipper Hu-śa, and after meeting the Brahman Samudrarenu, I obtained a prediction. At 409b that time I there made aspiration, 'In that world-realm where you shall become a Buddha may I perform the actions of *Bodhi*.' From the Buddha-realm of the Tathāgata 'Intuition Flowers All Expanded', king of the constellation 'Lotus-petal Immaculate', in a world-realm named 'Variously adorned with Illuminating-Light', I came into this realm of the Sahā world, into the presence of the Holy One, Śākya-muni. The Holy One pronounced: 'Since the people of the realm of the Sahā world are impassioned with desire, wrathful, inflated with pride and scorn, for their good let the Bodhi-sattvas mutually² resolve upon great deeds and in all successive lives purge away their sins.' Thus he spoke; and I at that time, making aspiration, 'In whatever manner and with whatever means others go there, so may I go there,' did at that time take birth for the sake of her who in a former life was my mother and in order haply to achieve that she should not go into hell.¹ Having formerly, in a realm of the Sahā world, been the Lay-worshipper Hu-śa, 410a after the Kumāra Mañibhadra had questioned me concerning salvation,³ I took birth as a human being among human beings; and, having with other beings done deeds of desire, I too was looked upon by other human beings as a fool. Having for the salvation of living beings taken many births unendurable⁴ among women, becoming a queen, a queen's daughter, an ordinary woman, a harlot, a wretched woman,

¹ *Supra*, p. 222, this is told of Vajrasena.

² *phan-tshun*.

³ *rnam-par-thar-ba* = *vimokṣa*, "career towards salvation." Incident not previously noted.

⁴ Or "inexhaustible" (*mi-bzad*).

a poor woman, I did good to those born as women and effected salvation of women. When by force of their own works those beings, though enjoying desires such as they desired, were unable to be glad,¹ I in various births endured sufferings many for the good of the beings in this realm of the Sahā world. Deeply distressed by my birth as a woman, I yet, when the Holy One charged me with a great task, requiring me during countless lives to endure suffering, did, in order
 410b to please the Holy One, Śākya-muni, and to attain to Buddhahood, make the great aspiration, 'For benefit to all beings I will in other lives endure all the sufferings that may befall me.' As to the charge which the Holy One has given me to 'Protect that land', in that land there is to this hour no human being.² Though the land itself has not come into existence, I will from those Holy Buddhas and those assembled in this company, Devas and Nāgas and Yakṣas and Asuras and Ḍākas and Gandharvas and Kinnaras and Mahoragas and Rākṣasas and Men and Not-men, take a pledge. So long as I am born into those lives, although I be regarded as object of desire and anger, may they not be to me occasion of sin. In whatever race the time requires me to be born, such may I embrace. At what time the time befalls for the Li country first to arise, at that time may I, in order to benefit³ (?) the country, there first become king. When in the Li country, with a name originated by those kings, a royal
 411a race shall have first arisen, may I during seven generations be king. I will also build the city named 'Nectarean'.⁴ In Seḥu-tshal⁵ of Nepal I will make a great *stūpa* of Buddha. In the country 'Horse-tail'⁶ I will make a *dhārmika-rāja stūpa*. In Gul-ta-ri⁷ I will make a great retreat for a Saṃgha.

¹ See *supra*, p. 224.² B.M. "there is no name or land".³ *hgyin-pa* (?): B.M. *bgjid*.⁴ *Dñar-ldan*: see *supra*, p. 91, n. 4.⁵ Seḥu-tshal of Nepal seems to be unknown. Was it in Baltistan (Sbal), not in Nepal?⁶ The country "Horse-tail" (*Rta-mjug*) seems to be unknown. Probably it is an equivalent of *Stag-gzigs* = *Tajik*.⁷ Or *'ti-ra* [B.M. *Hgum-ti-ra*]. This may be Gol-ta-ri in Baltistan: see Leitner, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Francke, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, ii, p. 191.

In Rtsarma-pa-na¹ I will make a great retreat for a Saṃgha. In Pa-yañ-de-ka² I will make a great *gandha-kutī* and a great *stūpa*. As long as I am established in royal state, in that state I will do great works. Also, at what time as king I pass away in death, may I be born among the Devas where dwells the Bodhi-sattva Maitreya; and, while there, may I remember the Trances. After that, again taking birth in this Li country, and becoming, according to the pronouncement of the Holy One, in form a woman, may I be there Rabs(*sic*)-ñes, daughter of the king of Skar-rdo; and at that time may I remember all those *dhāraṇīs* which were uttered by the Holy Buddhas and by me realized. May this *sūtra* too be well remembered and haply spread [among] all. At what time the two armies fight and there is work to be done for the good of 411b the Li country, and at what time the hour befalls for Kumāra Vajrasena, having become Vijaya-Varman, king of Skar-rdo, to pay ransom for the Li country, at that time may I, having become Rab-ñes, be assisted by all these Holy Buddhas and all these Devas gathered in that (*sic*) retinue. This *sūtra* and all those *dhāraṇī*-expounding *dhāraṇīs* and all the Trances may I in all births remember."

At what time the Devī Vimalaprabhā spoke those words, at that time she obtained the Trances, and obtained the Trance "*Mahāyāna-sūtra-Lotus-of-the-Good-Law-enveloping-whorl*",³ ensuring that none should be able in any way to harm this *sūtra*.

At that time all the Buddhas, bestowing a "Good", thus pronounced: "At what time you shall begin your work, at that time those lights shall be set over you. At that time you shall realize the Trance 'Buddha-contemplating',⁴ whereby, remembering this *sūtra*, you shall thoroughly take it 412a to heart. You will also remember the nature of that *dhāraṇī Vajra-maṇḍala*, spoken by the Holy Buddhas, whereby you

¹ Is this the Tsar-ma monastery (*supra*, pp. 105-7 and 92, n. 5) ?

² Not otherwise known. B.M. *Pa-yi-di-ka*.

³ *klon-hkhyil*: see p. 218, n. 2.

⁴ *Buddha-manasikāra*, p. 202, n. 5.

will realize the *dhāraṇīs*, and the practice ¹ of Trance, and all the religious instructions ² formerly heard from the Holy Buddhas. The Devī Vimalaprabhā will realize too the Trance and the *dhāraṇīs* just as they are realized by the Bodhi-sattvas. Vijaya-Varman also shall obtain sovereignty, and none shall be able to hinder. For both the task is, after seven times muttering [those], to mutter the *vidyā* charm, 'Horse-stall,' whereby sins will be cleansed : reciting three times by day, three times by night, in seven years they shall realize the *dhāraṇī Vajra-maṇḍala*."

While the Buddha, the Holy One, expounded this *Vajra-maṇḍala dhāraṇī*, at that time the Devas let fall upon the Holy One a rain of Deva-flowers, and, having sounded Deva-music, spoke thus : "We also will send *dhāraṇīs* formerly heard from the Holy Buddhas" [412b 1].

412b 3 This *dhāraṇī* being named the "Deva-punishing ³ *dhāraṇī*", if it is muttered 108 times and 108 offerings of *Dūrvā* grass are made, whatever one does cannot be seen ⁴ by the Devas. If it is made into a circular *maṇḍala* and 108 knots are inserted, there no harm can be done by spirits ⁵ : also no imprecation or curse ⁶ is possible. Then at that time all those retinues uttered this *dhāraṇī* (412b 6-7). If this *dhāraṇī* uttered by all the retinues is 108 times muttered and a cord in which 108 knots have been made is burned, in that house imprecation or curse can cause no hindrance, and diseases due to spirits will be non-existent. (413a 2—another *dhāraṇī*.) This *dhāraṇī* is muttered seven times in the throat and seven knots are made in a yak-tail ; [then] it is to be attached. (413a 3—another *dhāraṇī*.) This *dhāraṇī* is muttered seven times over any disease which has arisen in the body and seven knots are made in a cord ; [then] it is attached.

Then at that time all those retinues, kneeling on the ground, thus petitioned : "At what time Kumāra Vajrasena comes from

¹ *sbyon-ba*, "purify."

² *Lha-rnams-chad-pas-gcod-pa*.

³ *hbyun-po* = *bhūta*.

⁴ *chos* = *dharma*.

⁵ *gzigs*.

⁶ *byad-stems*.

Skar-rdo into the Li country, at that time may we send him a *dhāraṇī* whereby on the road he shall do heroic deeds [413a 6: *the dhāraṇī follows*—413a 7]. If this *dhāraṇī* is muttered seven times by those going on a journey¹ and 413b after bathing they mutter it seven times with pouring [water] upon their hands, and then either scatter [the water] to the four directions or themselves drink it, an enemy is unable to harm them, and they will do heroic deeds.”

Then, the Tathāgata Vajradhvaja having so pronounced, the Tathāgata Vaiśravaṇa and Maheśvara and Saṃjaya and Hārītī with her son spoke thus: “We too give to Kumāra Vajrasena this *dhāraṇī*, through which his enemies may be unable in any way to harm him” (413b 4–6, *the dhāraṇī*). Maheśvara and Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjaya and Hārītī with her child, having uttered the *dhāraṇī*, petitioned thus: “As with *dhāraṇīs* the Holy One appointed us to the great work, those *dhāraṇīs*, unassailable by others,² we would teach. We will 414a also teach what retaliatory measures are to be taken³ by the Devī Vimalaprabhā and Kumāra Vajrasena, when he has become Vijaya-Varman, king of Skar-rdo. When enemies, or whoever it be, essay an evil deed, the two *dhāraṇīs* which have been taught are to be seven times muttered. If, put on a blue thread made with seven knots, they are burned, then, on the utterance of the man’s name, while it is burned with incense of gum-rezin,⁴ he is unable to do harm. If we do not, in accordance with our original pledge, fulfil the designs of Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā, may we in our persons be beguiled⁵ by all the Holy Buddhas who come in the Three Times.”

Then all the Devas assembled in that retinue and Nāgas and Yakṣas and Asuras and Dākas and Gandharvas and Kinnaras and Mahoragas and Men and Not-men thus 414b petitioned: “According as the Bodhi-sattvas have pledged,

¹ *hḍron* (= *hḍron*)-*du*.

² *gān-gyi[s]-mi-tshugs-pa*: cf. *tshugs-pa-med* = *adhrṣya*.

³ *chad-pas-bead-par-bgyi-ba*.

⁴ *sra-rtsi-pog*.

⁵ *sku-bstus*, “personally beguiled”?

we also are pledged. If we do not act accordingly, may we in our persons be beguiled by all the Holy Buddhas who come in the Three Times. May we also haply all together with one accord consecrate Vijaya-Varman to be king of the Li country. At what time the Red-Faces and the Chinese shall fight, at that time may we cause the Li country in no way to perish ; and, at what time world-renouncing people shall have come from other countries into the Li country, may we cause them to be not in any way without honour ; and beings who shall have fled there from other countries ¹ may we cause there to obtain a settlement and to pay ransom for the Li country, in order that with their assistance the great *stūpas* and retreats of the Saṃghas burned by the Red-Faces may be restored ; may we cause them with the Chinese reciprocally to give and receive brides.”

Then at that time, having committed the Li country to the Devī Vimalaprabhā and Kumāra Vajrasena, the Buddha, 415a the Holy One, pronounced to Kumāra Vajrasena thus :

“ Do you, being king of the Li country, and the Devī Vimalaprabhā assisting, act in all matters according to what is said in this *sūtra*. At what time you return ² into the country of the Gold Race, at that time, if, on hearing that a Chinese army is come into the Li country, you send a messenger for them to come without hesitation into the Li country and do not [yourself] go there, ³ they will go into the Li country and the country of Gu-zan. ⁴ Send them a letter, ‘ Make alliance with me and give me the country.’ Then at that time you will become king of the Li country. Īśvara-varman ⁵ also,

¹ These refugee monks and people include, no doubt, Rab-ñes and her associates : see *supra*, p. 170.

² From China (pp. 162, 164) ?

³ *the-tshom-ma-byed-par-Li-yul-du-son-la-der-pho-ña-btañ-na-der-ñon-bar-mi-ḥgyur-te | Li[B.M. Luñ]-yul-dañ-Gu-zan-gyi(s)-yul-du-ḥgro-bar-ḥgyur-ro*. The construction here is complicated : the sense elicited seems to be the most probable.

⁴ On Gu-zan see *supra*, p. 132, n. 4.

⁵ This Īśvara-varman [II] seems to be a young prince of the family of Vijaya-Varman, the son of Rab-ñes mentioned *supra*, p. 200.

acting as king of Skar-rdo, will haply assist you to become king of the Li country. If harm comes to pass in the country of of Skar-rdo, do not suffer any harm to come about. Īśvara-varman also do you at first discipline. He will assist in executing these tasks. The people of Skar-rdo also will all assist. There is a certain hero, 'A-ku-na,¹ who formerly, as 415b Jñānayaśaḥ,² built the monastery Na-tiṅ³: seek out 'A-ku-na; in the seizing of the country [Khotan?] he will assist. 'Why so?', be it asked, it is because formerly you made aspiration together with him. Formerly that man 'A-ku-na was a king; and, when his wife was carried off by wild men, he did not get her back.⁴ You, being a Great Councillor of the king, were the father of Do-good."

Then to Kumāra Vajrasena, the Buddha, the Holy One, thus pronounced: "You, Kumāra Vajrasena, having in the Li kingdom become a king named Vijaya-Varman, will hold the sovereignty during thirty years: then, becoming a Lay-worshipper, you will obtain the fruit of surrendering your body for the sake of the Li country."⁵

Then to the Devī Vimalaprabhā the Holy One thus pronounced: "Do you in the Li country, at the time when you shall have become Rab-ñes, receive this *sūtra*: enter into it: spread it abroad: send it also into the Skar-rdo country to your brother. Lights will be set over you. At what time you shall realize the *dhāraṇīs*, at that time the Buddha, the Holy One, himself will speak [utter it] to you, and the Devas also will tell you in full how you will be able to accomplish the tasks."

Then to the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara the Buddha, the Holy One, at that time thus pronounced: "Dear younger brother, remember how, at the time when the Holy

¹ This is the 'A-kun mentioned *supra*, pp. 232, etc.

² *Ye-śes-grags-pa*: A Jñānayaśaḥ is mentioned *supra*, p. 121, in connection with the foundation of the monastery Dharmākīrti-sa. Cf. Nanjio, *Cat. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*, Appendix, No. 123.

³ The monastery Na-tiṅ [B.M. *Dar-ma-tiṅ*] is probably Sna-rtiṅ, p. 295, n. 1.

⁴ Otherwise *supra*, pp. 231-2. This is in a previous life of 'A-kun.

⁵ This is probably not historical fact.

One, Ratnagarbha, entered the city, we both received a prediction of Buddhahood, and there you made aspiration, 'To all beings in the Ten Directions who are affrighted with alarms may I afford refuge.'¹ Now take this Li country of mine and the Devī Vimalaprabhā and Kumāra Vajrasena, as a trust from me."

Then to the Bodhi-sattvas Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī and Ākāṣagarbha and Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Bhaiṣajyarāja and Sva(Su?)dāneśvara² and Kṣitigarbha and Maitreya and the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara the Holy One thus
416b pronounced: "Formerly elder and younger brothers and associates of this one (Avalokiteśvara? see p. 217), ever in perpetual association associated, are these—the Viśve Devas, Īśvara-Deva, Drumeśvararāja, Karuṇeśvara, Dhāraṇīśvara, Tyāgeśvara, Prabheśvara, Gandheśvara, Gaṇeśvara, Lokeśvara, Prabhāsa³ and Kuleśvara."

Then, calling to all the Bodhi-sattvas, the Bodhi-sattva Samantabhadra and the rest, the Holy One thus pronounced: "Noble youths, do you safeguard this my Mahāyāna *sūtra* and Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā."

Then, calling to Vajrapāṇi, lord of the Guhyakas,⁴ he pronounced: "Since you have ever followed in my train, to you I commit this *sūtra* and Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā. To the Yakṣa lord Vaiśravaṇa, and the Yakṣa Saṃjaya, and the Devaputra Sthiramati,⁵ and the Nāga king Anavatapta, and Hārītī with her child, and the Deva kings of the Thirty-two Deva-mansions, and all there
417a (*sic*) assembled in these retinues, and those Holy Buddhas who emit lights, and all these Bodhi-sattvas assembled from the Ten Directions, committing this *sūtra* and the Li country and Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā, hand them on with a vow of handing them on."

Then again to them all he pronounced thus: "As I have

¹ See *supra*, p. 220. ² *Raṇ-sbyin-dbañ-po*: see *supra*, p. 217, n. 1.

³ *Hod-gsal*: cf. pp. 217, 239.

⁴ *Gsañ-ba*.

⁵ *Blo-gros-bstan-pa* (*sic* for *bṛtan* of B.M.): see pp. 94, etc.

said and as you have promised, so do you assist, and according to all my intentions in all matters bring it to completion. Without backsliding in any respect do thus. As I during many æons have in the world performed arduous works exceeding numerous,¹ it has not been done even by other Bodhi-sattvas. All beings called 'by me to be matured in that Li kingdom of mine' shall hereafter be settled in the Li kingdom² and shall be saved by my religion."

Then to the ministrant³ Bodhi-sattvas the Holy One thus pronounced: "To you all I commit this *sūtra* and the Li country and Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā."

At what time the Buddha, the Holy One, committed to 417b all the Buddhas and all the Bodhi-sattvas and all the Devas this *sūtra* and the Li country and Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā, at that time there fell over the Buddha, the Holy One, Śākya-muni, a rain of Deva flowers: the Devas sounded Deva music, and there fell a rain of Deva ornaments. Likewise all those retinues rendered to the Holy One worship with worship such as is fitting for the Holy One. Those Holy Buddhas also emitted exceeding many lights into this region of the Sahā world. The beings also who abide in this region of the Sahā world beheld those Holy Buddhas together with their ambient retinues. Also those stationed there beheld the Tathāgata Śākya-muni, together with his ambient retinue, and the region of the Sahā world; and all the retinues and Devas and men were seen by one another.

Then at that time the monk Ānanda, rising from his seat, with folded hands petitioned the Holy One: "O Holy One, in times not yet come, as many as read this *sūtra* and think of it and hear it and understand⁴ it and inquire and cause to inquire, by their merits how great a mass will be formed?" 418a

The Holy One pronounced: "Greater by far than all the gifts given to the beings, as many as abide in Buddha-realms

¹ *sin-tu-man-po-daṅ-ldan-pa*: *daṅ-ldan-pa* seems superfluous; B.M. has *don-*°, "useful". "World" is *hkhor-ba* = *samsāra*.

² Cf. pp. 179-80.

³ *bkaḥ-ba-bzod-pa* = *sāsana-dhara*.

⁴ *kun-chub-par-bgyid*.

eight myriads and four thousands, shall be the mass of merits of those who carry this *sūtra* and recite it and read it. In a word, as we conceive the three fruits,¹ in so great a mass shall their merits grow. Thus I say."

Then the Devas and Nāgas and Yakṣas and Asuras and Dākas and Gandharvas and Kinnaras and Mahoragas and Rākṣasas and all those retinues thus petitioned: "May we, as many as are assembled in this retinue, if we be not present wherever this *sūtra* is uttered, or if we do not give the *dhāraṇīs* to Kumāra Vajrasena and the Devī Vimalaprabhā, or if we forget this promise, be in our persons beguiled by the Holy Buddhas who come in the Three Times. As great as is the sin of him who has done a Deadly Sin shall be what we shall have done."

418b

Then from those lights came uttered words thus: "Where this *sūtra* is uttered, there we will proclaim 'we come'."

Then Ānanda and those retinues inquired: "O Holy One, what is the name of this religious exposition? How is it to be received?" He pronounced: "The name of this *sūtra* is to be *Head of the Religion*²; it is to be *Heart of the Religion of all the Buddhas*³; it is to be *Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā*."

Then the Holy One, Sākya-muni, thus pronounced: "Whatever ordinances⁴ have been propounded by me are all comprised in this same *sūtra*."

The Holy One having so pronounced, those Bodhi-sattvas and the venerable Ānanda and all those retinues and the world with Devas and men and Asuras delightedly welcomed the Holy One's words.

[End of the Mahāyāna *sūtra*, *Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā*.]

¹ *hbras-bu-gsum-pa-rtogs-pa*: The meaning is obscure.

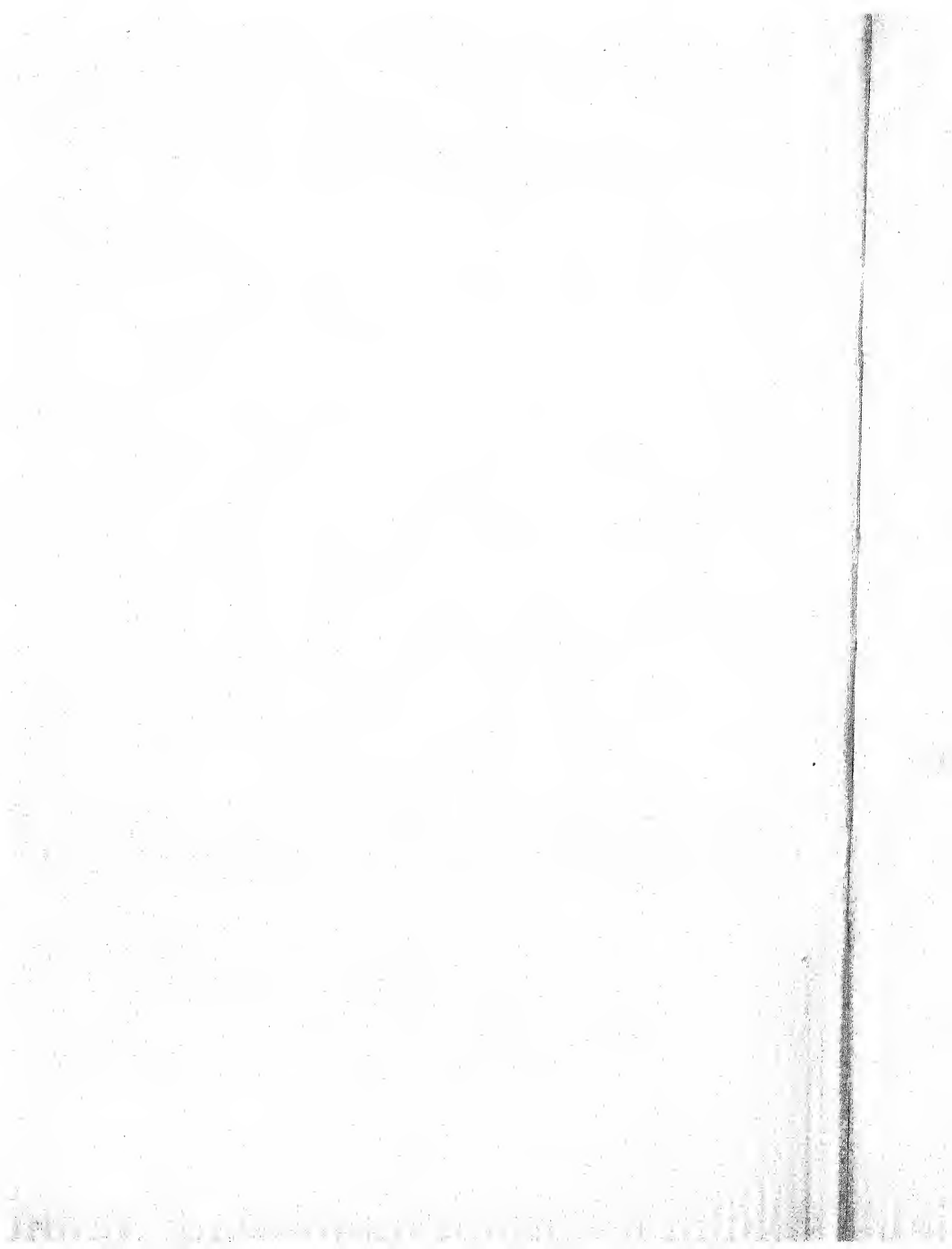
² *Chos-kyi-spyi-bo* = *Dharma-sīras*?

³ *Saṃs-rgyas-thams-cad-kyi-sñān-po* = *Sarva-buddha-garbha (hrdaya)*?

⁴ *chos*.

Miscellaneous Extracts

(I, *Invitation of Elders* (Bstan-hgyur, Mdo 94); II, *The Sandal Image of Buddha* (Bstan-hgyur, Rgyud 85); III, *The Pronouncements of Padmasambhava*; IV, *The Life of Padmasambhava*; V, *Mirror exhibiting the Royal Lineage*; VI, *The Index to the Bkash-hgyur*)



MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS

I. BSTAN-HGYUR, MDO 94 (foll. 403*b*, 4-412*b*, 6)*Sthaviropanimantraṇa*, "Invitation of Elders"

This tract, which is preserved in the *Bstan-hgyur* (Mdo 94 (*Ne*), foll. 403*b*, 4-412*b*, 6 of the Snar-thañ edition), contains the invitation issued to Indian Buddhist paṇḍits by the Tibetan king Khri-sroṅ-ldeḥu-btsan, c. A.D. 743-97. Dr. Palmyr Cordier, in his *Catalogue*, iii, p. 433, remarks that in one passage there is "nomenclature géographique": that passage may be rendered as follows:—

Fol. 409*a*, 4—

"Having a surrounding margin of wood, cool and enveloped in creepers, it (Jambū-dvīpa) has here and there forests wherein dwell numerous wild animals: also the countries Darada and Gandara (Gandhāra) and Gu-zan Da-Li (*read* Gu-zan and Li?) and Śi-ri-da and Ba-le (Baltistan *or* Bolor) and Bri-śa (Bru-śa) and the Kha-che country (Kāśmīr) and the Rgya (China)¹ country and Groṅ-khyer-zas-hdra (Nagara-āhāra) and Rdo-hjog-zas-hdra (Takṣaśilā-āhāra) and Skyes-pahi-groṅ-khyer (Puruṣa-pura) and Phyogs-mtshams (Vidiśā) and Kuntimalaba (Kuntī and Mālava(?)) and Sruṅ-byed (Avantī) and Groṅ-khyer (Nagara) and Tsha-thu-ka (?) and Tsha-ta (?) and Bha-du-skad-tsha (Bharukaccha) and Kauśāmbī and Ser-skyahi-gnas (Kapila-vastu) and Mñan-yod (Śrāvastī) and Mi-thub-pa (Ayodhyā) and Groṅ-khyer-me-tog (Kusuma-pura) and Ti-ra (Tirabhukti?) and Bcom-rlag (Mathurā) and Groṅ-khyer-loṅs-spyod (Bhoga-nagara) and Tsam-pa-kam (Campā?) and Rgyal-poḥi-khab (Rājagṛha) and Dbañ-poḥi-brag-phug (Indraśāila) and Hbrog (Jaṅgala?) and Ko-naḥi-groṅ (Konā-grāma) and Kun-dgaḥi-groṅ (Nandi-grāma) and Mchod-rten-gyi-groṅ (Stūpa-grāma) and Hkhrur-bcug-gi-groṅ (Dhona-grāma?)

¹ Error for *Rgya-gar*, India?

and Yañs-pa (Vaiśālī) and Li-kho-ri-śiñ-hphel-ba (Pundravardhana) and Hphel-byed (Vardhana ?) and Zañs-kyi-yogs (Tāmralipti ?) and Rdo-sñogs-hdzin (?) and Kosali and 'Andra and 'Alimnga (Kalinga ?) and Bar-pa (Burma ?) and Nas-glin (Yava-dvīpa) and Siñ-gha-laḥi-glin (Sinhala-dvīpa) and Ka-la-śahi-groñ-khyer (Kalaśa-nagara) and Gsergyi-sa (Suvarṇa-bhūmi) and Ha-ri-ka-la (Harikela, Bengal ?) and Bo-ra-sa-ka-ta-ha (?) and Na-li-ke-ra (Nārikela) and Phan-saḥi-glin (Kambu-dvīpa ?) and Śur-pa (?) and Nimpaḥi-groñ-khyer (Nimba-nagara) and Dpal-gyi-ś(2)(in Śrīkṣetra) and Dñul-chuḥi-gnas (Pārada-sthāna ?), these and so on, and those other inhabited countries with peoples of various dress and tongues and localities and manners and knowledge and race and morals ; also those which, previously (*sñon-chad* ?) unsmitten by the light of sun and moon, are in front of (*drun*, 'near' ?) the sky mountain moved by the body of the serpent Śeṣa."¹

In this enumeration the items which have an interest in our present connection are only *Gu-zan-da-li*, *Śi-ri-da*, *Ba-le*, and *Bri-śa*. Since the combination *Gu-zan-da-li* is not otherwise exemplified, it is probable that the reading should be *Gu-zan-dañ-Li*, i.e. Gu-zan and Li (Khotan), which two countries are mentioned together *supra*, p. 254 : on the identification of *Gu-zan* with the Gu-chen region see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 282 sqq. *Śi-ri-da* may be the country represented by the Chinese name *Si-li*, concerning which see Professor Pelliot's note in *T'oung pao*, II, xiii (1912), p. 357 ; if so, it is either Suvarṇagotra, the Hunza-Nagar territory, or Chilās : see *supra*, p. 152, n. 1. *Ba-le* may well be the "Great P'o-lü" of the Chinese, i.e. Baltistan, which is still known to the Dards as Palolo. *Bri-śa* is a patent error for *Bru-śa* = Gilgit ; we may note that *Bru-śa*, in some instances spelled *Gru-śa*, is mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 253-4), in the *Padma-bkaḥi-thaṅ-yig* (No. III *infra*, iv, fol. 63a), in the *Life*

¹ The movements of the serpent Śeṣa shake the earth, which he supports : see Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* (trans.), p. 132.

(*Skved-rabs*) of *Padmasambhava* (No. IV *infra*, c. 17, c. 27 *Sbrul-sa*, c. 48, p. 290, c. 94 *Gru-sa*), in the *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-bahi-me-loñ*, India Office xylograph, *infra*, p. 293, in the *Ladak Rgyal-rabs*, tr. A. H. Francke, pp. 87, 89-90, and in the *Bkah-hgyur Index*, fol. 116b, 5.

II. BSTAN-HGYUR, RGYUD 85 (foll. 142a, 1-144a, 5)

“How the Sandal image of Buddha came to be situated in China”

Fol. 142b, 3-

“This precious Sandal image has been situated during one thousand two hundred and eighty-five years in China. During sixty-eight years it was in [a place] called Khu-sen, in the Li country. Then during forty years it was in the northern region of Mi-ñag.¹ Then it was seventeen years in Kyin-chañ-hu. Then . . .” (*in other places*).

This reference to a place Khu-sen in the Khotan country has been noted by Cordier, *Catalogue*, iii, p. 433, and after him by Professor Pelliot (*T'oung pao*, 1923, p. 127).

Concerning this tract we may refer to Dr. Cordier's *Catalogue*, iii, pp. 266-7, where a full account of it is given; the original was in Chinese, and the Tibetan is translated from an Uigur version. A Mongol version also is said to exist. The extensive literature concerning the famous sandal image of Buddha need not be cited here.

The place called Khu-sen can hardly be other than Ku-sed or Ku-señ, the city of the west, concerning which see *supra*, p. 24, n. 4.

¹ Mi(or Me)-ñag is a tribe or district in eastern Tibet; it is mentioned in the *Padma-bkahi-thañ-yig*, ii, c. 17, fol. 64b, 3; the *Skved-rabs*, c. 3; the *Ladak Rgyal-rabs* (trans.), p. 77; and in *Bkah-hgyur* (Beckh, p. 95) and *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, ii, pp. 40, 43; iii, p. 306) colophons; cf. Huth, *Hor-chos-byun* (tr.), p. 27, *Geografica Tibeta*, p. 41, and *infra*, Pt. II, p. 304. It is given in modern maps.

III. PADMA-BKAHI-THAN-YIG

“Writing of the pronouncements of Padma[sambhava]”

Concerning this work, which is contained in a xylograph received and catalogued in the India Office Library in 1906 (Lhasa Expedition, J16), it is sufficient to refer to the account of it given by Dr. Berthold Laufer in his *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin* (Leipzig, 1911), where the third section of it is edited with a German translation, etc. It was printed in the Dgañ-ldan Phun-tshogs-glin monastery, situated about a day's journey west of Tashilhunpo, in the “Female Fire-Hog” year (the 21st of the Sixty-Years Cycle), for which Dr. Laufer gives the equivalent as A.D. 1674. As explained by Dr. Laufer, the five sections are said to be derived from separate manuscripts, severally “hidden” (*sbas*) or “deposited” (*gter*) and independently “brought to light” (*ston* or *bton*). The general question as to the authenticity of Tibetan books whereof such accounts are given need not be considered here (see Waddell's *Lamaism*, pp. 57-8). Dr. Laufer well observes (p. 7) that the “discoveries” may [in some instances] have been, as happens in modern Europe, simply cases of extraction from the dust of libraries; moreover, we have good evidence of a Buddhist procedure of hiding or depositing books copied as a work of merit; but evidently there was much opportunity for literary fabrication, a practice which in fact is thought to be exemplified in the work of so early a Buddhist author as Nāgārjuna. In the present case, however, we need not consider this question. In the two sections of the *Padma-bkañi-than-yig* with which we are concerned, namely, Section II, *Rgyal-po-bkañi-than-yig*, “Pronouncements concerning kings,” and Section V, *Blon-po-bkañi-than-yig*, “Pronouncements concerning Councillors,” the historical, geographical, and personal particulars stated are in part such as would not have been correctly recorded long after the time of Mu-tig Btsan-po, who perhaps succeeded his father Khri-sroñ-ldeñu-btsan

during the period of Padmasambhava's residence in Tibet (see p. 267); and they show various correspondences with the information contained in original Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan. Accordingly we may attribute the bulk of the matter rather to the beginning than to the end of the period, ninth-twelfth century A.D., within which Dr. Laufer would place the composition of the work (p. 9). In historical value this book is greatly superior to the *Life* of Padmasambhava (No. IV *infra*), which, in its known versions, contains much matter inconsistent with Dr. Laufer's ascription of its original to the ninth century.

(a) Bk. I, c. 19 (fol. 37b, 4)

"The king of Siṅgha[la], Dhanaśrī, having invited from the Li country the paṇḍit Li Bzuho, abandoned the ten sins."¹

This story of a Khotan paṇḍit being invited to Ceylon is attributed to a prehistoric time; it cannot be seriously regarded.

(b) Bk. II, c. 2 (fol. 9b, 2)

"When, with the Teacher's name not mentioned and the doctrine come to an end, there arrived an age of epidemics and famines, the last constitution² of the doctrine took place in the Li country. With the Reverend Red-ox³ counterfeiting the religion of the Śākya, through the age of semblances⁴ it [the religion] came in the end to nought."

This again is a legend of early times in Khotan.⁵ The story is related more fully elsewhere (II, c. 5, fol. 15a). In the time of the Khotan king Sme-ba-can (Bindumant? or correct to Sme-śa-can, Caṇḍāla?) the five hundred monks quarrelled at their repast and killed one another with their knives. In order to divert the king's despair the queens, ministers, etc., dressed themselves in the hides of red kine and oxen, and before his eyes behaved as monks. This had the desired

¹ i.e. the *daśa akuśala-karma*.

² *Btsun-pa* (= *Vandya*) *Glañ-dmar* (cf. *Glañ-dar-ma*?).

² *sdud*.

⁴ *ntaḥon*.

⁵ But based on the story of Duṣprasāha. See Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* (trans. Obermiller), p. 177.

effect, and thus originated a (*pratirūpaka*) Buddhism with the ensigns (*rtags*), but lacking the realities, of the religion.

(c) Bk. II, c. 7 (fol. 17b, 3)

"As to how came in Tibet a king of religion:—According to the showing of the annals of king Glo-bur,¹ in the period² of the second Glo-bur generation there came four classes of kings appointed to the four regions. In the east the China king of wisdom,³ appointed by the butter-tub divination,⁴ discriminated good and evil. In the south the Indian king of religion, attaching an ambrosia pail⁵ to an ox's nose, was consecrated by the people and dispelled the darkness of ignorance. In the west the Ta-zig king of wealth, having traversed the ocean with a ship, won jewels; having with gold filled a golden tub, he banished poverty. In the north the Ge-sar king of arms, having placed servants in the four directions and having discharged arrow[s] of great size, whoso caught one by the middle,⁶ him he appointed king: with the arrow of great size he conquered foreign foes.

"The king of wisdom is coiled like a poisonous snake; the king of religion slinks like a wolf after a dog; the king of wealth swoops (*hdzum*?) like a hawk upon a small bird⁷; the king of the Hor⁸ strikes (*htshab*?) like an axe upon a tree."⁹

With this passage compare No. III (j) *infra*, pp. 286–8.

(d) Bk. II, c. 7 (fol. 19b, 1)

"His son, seeking to rule as a defender of righteousness, was Khri-sron-ldehu-btsan, a Deva-flower. To him was born

¹ A mythical king.

² *bar-skabs*.

³ *gtsug-lag*: cf. p. 276, n. 2.

⁴ *mar-gzon-gab-tse*.

⁵ *bdud-rtsihi-bum-pa* = *amṛta-ghaṭa* ("milk-pail"?).

⁶ *dbus-gcig-gan-zin*?

⁷ With these three similes cf. p. 287 *infra*.

⁸ Here Ge-sar is clearly represented as king of the Hor, Turks.

⁹ *star-ltar-htshab*: *infra*, p. 287, n. 10, we have *rtar-ltar-htshab*, in the sense, apparently, of "like a restive horse", a curious modification.

a royal progeny, three sons, Mu-ne Btsan-po and Mu-rum Btsan-po and righteous king Mjin-yon Sad-na-legs, these three. Mu-rum Btsan-po went to Mdo-Khams in the north; Mu-ne Btsan-po went, through what he ate, to heaven; as to the youngest Mjin-yon Mu-tig Btsan-po, to speak generally, he had five good points,¹ deep understanding, firm command, broad-mindedness, retentiveness, by reason of penetration,² great strength of soul. Of prince Mjin-yon, a man of excellent parts, the great virtues are related below.”³

For the various accounts of the three sons of Khri-sron-ldehu(or lde)-btsan see A. H. Francke, op. cit., pp. 88-9. In representing Sad-na-legs as a son of Khri-sron-ldehu-btsan the passage agrees with the *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ* (fol. 41a, 4), the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, and doubtless also with the *Bodhimör*: Ssanang Ssetsen does not name Sad-na-legs; and the Ladak *Rgyal-rabs*, which is generally of inferior authority, makes him to be a *grandson* of Khri-sron-ldehu-btsan, an error condemned already by the *Me-loṅ*. The present passage definitely identifies Sad-na-legs with Mu-tig Btsan-po; and probably it reinforces the identification by suggesting, in the phrase *bsad-na-legs*, the five “good points to mention”, a punning explanation of the name, whereof the meaning is otherwise unknown. The expression *Mjin-yon*, which here occurs several times as part of this king’s name, is also found in the *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ* (loc. cit.); possibly a Mongol transliteration of it is furnished by Ssanang Ssetsen in his title *Dschintsun Tschakrawartin*.

In this *Padma-than-yig* Mu-tig Btsan-po is several times designated *rgyal-sras* “prince”; and it is, of course, a fact that as patron of Padmasambhava his father Khri-sron-ldehu-btsan is more prominently named. It is stated, indeed, in the *Life* (T., p. 407) that Mu-tig Btsan-po succeeded to the throne during the actual period of Padmasambhava’s

¹ *rgyas-par-bsad-na-legs-pa-lna*.

² *zuṅs* (= *gzuṅs*, *gzuṅs*?) - *ihub-dpyad-pas*.

³ See the next passage.

visit to Tibet (A.D. 777-). But, as the Chinese note deaths of Btsan-po's in A.D. 797, 804 and 816 (Cordier, *Histoire*, i, p. 496), it is more probable that Mu-tig Btsan-po succeeded his brother Mu-ne at, or near, the second of these dates and reigned only until the third.

Mu-rum Btsan-po is here mentioned first because he died during his father's lifetime, being assassinated (as the *Me-loñ* (406, 1-2), followed as usual by the *Bodhimör*, informs us) by an agent, *Žaṅ Sna-nam*, of the ministers in revenge for his murder of one of them. At that time he was returning, from the Mon country according to the *Me-loñ*, but from Mdo-Khams according to our text, to claim the throne. The form of his name, here given as Mu-rum, is in the *Me-loñ* and the Mongol texts Mu-rug.

Mu-ne Btsan-po succeeded his father, *Khri-sroṅ-ldeḥu-btsan*, but after reigning one year and seven months was poisoned by his mother; so we learn from the *Me-loñ* (fol. 40b) and the Mongol texts.

The *Padma-thaṅ-yig* seems to mention (II, c. 11, fol. 3b, 6) a Mu-ri Btsan-po, perhaps a variant of Mu-khri Btsan-po, which in the *Me-loñ* (40a, 4) is given as an alias, and in the Ladak *Rgyal-rabs* (trans. p. 88) as sole name, of Mu-ne Btsan-po.

(e) Bk. II, c. 7 (fol. 19b, 4)

"During the lifetime of king Gri-gum Btsan-po Ta-zig [and] *Ḥa-ža* Bon-pos were introduced."¹

Who the Tajiks would be in the time of Gri-gum Btsan-po, a remote ancestor of *Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po*, we need not speculate, since no weight attaches to the tradition in the text. On the *Ḥa-ža* see Pt. II, pp. 1 sqq. In the extract from the *Rgyal-rabs*, V(a) *infra*, pp. 293-4, the Ta-zig and *Ḥa-ža* are replaced by *Žaṅ-žuṅ* and *Bru-ša*.

¹ This might be rendered "the Ta-zig invited the *Ḥa-ža* Bon-pos"; but this would not fit the context: the omission of "and" between "Ta-zig" and "*Ḥa-ža*" is quite normal.

(f) Bk. II, c. 7 (fol. 20a, 3)

"During the lifetime of Gnam-ri Sroñ-btsan, armies and strife being astir, a conference¹ was held. In the previous period of enmity on the frontier the border realms were chastized, China and the Gru-gu tamed. The herd yak² was tamed, and salt was obtained."³

Gnam-ri Sroñ-btsan was the father of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po. The Gru-gu mentioned in connection with so early a date must have been near neighbours of the Tibetans, and so have a chance of being the Tu-yu[k]-hun: see *infra*, pp. 291-2, 301, and on the general question, Pt. II, pp. 267 sqq. We may here note also that the *Geografia Tibeta* also places a Gru-gu people in the same region (tr. Wassiliew, p. 54).

(g) Bk. II, c. 7 (fol. 21a, 2-22b, 5)

"During the lifetime of Mjiñ-yon Mu-tig Btsan-po petition was made for erecting at the boundary of the eastern portal of Śrī Bsam-yas a fine Chinese⁴ fort with nine pinnacles. He built the 'Little Star' Vajra-dhātu *maṇḍala*.⁵ To all his ancestors'

¹ *mdun-ma*.

² *phun-g-yag*.

³ Concerning the taming of the wild yak and the discovery of a salt mine see Ś. C. Das in *JASB.*, li (1882), p. 217; cf. Francke, op. cit., p. 82.

⁴ Some parts of the Bsam-yas monastery were built in Chinese style, as is stated in this work (c. 11, fol. 31b, 1, etc.) and also in the *Than-yig* (II, c. 11, 31b, 1, etc.); see also Laufer, *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, pp. 119-20, Grünwedel, *Bastian Festschrift*, p. 468.

⁵ *Skar-chun-rdo-rje-dbyins-kyi-dkyil-lkhor*: The *Me-lon* has *Rgya-sde-dkar-chun-rdo-rje-dbyins-kyi-lha-khañ* (with *dkar* miswritten for *skar*, as is proved by the story preceding), "Little Star Vajra-dhātu *maṇḍala* temple of the Chinese division"; and the Ladak *Rgyal-rabs* (Francke, p. 89) and Ssanang Ssetsen (p. 47) also speak of a temple. These authorities are, however, not beyond question, and it seems possible that simply a painted or a lithic *maṇḍala* may be intended. The name "Little Star" is explained by the story told in the *Me-lon*, accounting for the moderate size of the erection, which was originally conceived as of the size of the sun or the moon: this suggests that what was built was a round object, as the term *maṇḍala* indicates, and perhaps a window (*skar-khuñ* instead of *skar-chun*). Cf. *P.-than-yig*, II, c. 12.

The reading of the Ladak *Rgyal-rabs*, viz. *Rgya-sdehi-skar-chun-rdo-dbyins-kyi-gtsug-lag-khañ* (omitting *rje*), has led Dr. A. H. Francke into strange speculations (p. 89) concerning "Rgya" and *Skar-rdo*. In the general part of the *Rgyal-rabs* references to Western Tibet are imaginary.

monasteries he showed honour¹: the laws of religion² and the laws of state³ he guarded better than before. Taking a lesson from the lives of the religion-protecting kings, he embraced the rules of the 'secret *mantras*' and the 'fruit'.⁴ On his head the teacher, his own body's tutelary deity⁵: in his voice the *vajra*-utterance of secret *mantras*: like an out-spread royal parasol the teaching of the good religion. Having established the teaching of the schools of doctrine⁶ and of meditation,⁷ he made the 'secret *mantra*', the *Mahāyāna* and the fruit to flourish through the *Vajra*-teacher Padma-sambhava and the translator Vairocana⁸ and others. Asked the teacher⁹ his name, it was 'Mu-tig Btsan-po'; asked his father his name, it was 'Khri-lde Sroṅ-btsan'¹⁰; asked the home-minister his name, it was 'Mjiñ-yon Sad-na-legs'; asked China his name, it was 'Mu-ri (*sic*) Btsan-po'.

"After bringing under his sway two or three [parts of] Jambū-dvīpa¹¹ he added to his dominions the country of the

¹ This is stated also in the *Me-loṅ* (fol. 40b 6) and in the *Bodhimōr* (p. 358).

² *bkaḥ-khrims*.

³ *than-khrims*.

⁴ We need not here dwell upon these expressions or others *infra*, such as "*vajra*-utterance", "schools of exposition and of meditation"; in another connection they might be illustrated as *termini technici* of Buddhism at various stages.

⁵ *yi-dam*: we might translate "an embodied tutelary deity."

⁶ *bśad-grva* (the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* index reads *bśad-bla*).

⁷ *sgom-grva*.

⁸ The well-known Ba-gor (Spa-gor or Pagur) Vairocana: see Ssanang Ssetsen, pp. 43-7, 355-8; Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, Index; Laufer, op. cit. (index).

⁹ Perhaps Padmasambhava.

¹⁰ Apparently another name of Mu-tig Btsan-po, a variant of that of his father Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan. In denying this name to Mu-tig Btsan-po the *Me-loṅ* (fol. 40b, 2) is, it seems, mistaken: the name was dropped, no doubt, upon accession to the throne and adoption of the royal designation Mu-tig (Pearl) Btsan-po. *Sad-na-legs* was, of course, a soubriquet (p. 267).

¹¹ This seems to have been projected in the time of Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan (see *Me-loṅ*, fol. 40b, 1); hence it is here mentioned first. What territories are indicated is not clear, as Nepal had long been under Tibetan domination: perhaps parts of the Bengal Dharmapāla's kingdom are meant (see *infra*, p. 272, n. 15).

hawk-faced Śud-pu¹ of the eastern part of Jambū-dvīpa [21b], and reduced them to subjection. In the southern direction he brought under his sway the ass-footed Grul-bum,² and the whole Tshe-spoñ³ country and reduced them to subjection and service. In the west he brought under his sway the cat-tailed Gtsaṅ-mi people,⁴ the region of Sbal-gnon,⁵ and reduced them to subjection. In the north he subjugated the hare-eared Samarkandīs⁶ and brought them under his sway and

¹ The name *Śud-pu*, which we have noted in the documents from Chinese Turkestan (Pt. II, p. 16), may be found in various texts (e.g. in this work, II, c. 10, 30b, 5; IV, c. 33, 63a, 3; *Life*, fol. 152a; Tibetan chronicle, l. 237; *Geogr. Tib.*, p. 37) as a tribal designation. Here we see that those so named are "hawk-faced", which seems to identify them with the Bya-khra people of (South-)Eastern Tibet, *infra*, p. 301.

² The "ass-footed Grul-bum" will reappear *infra*, p. 301. *Grul-bum* = Sk. *kumbhāṇḍa*, "ghoul."

³ Tshe-spoñ was the native place of Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan's wife Tshe-spoñ-bza, who is several times mentioned in this *Padma-thaṅ-yig* (II, c. 11, 34b, 5, etc.): cf. Laufer, *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, pp. 15 sqq.; *infra*, p. 280; Pt. II, p. 5.

⁴ The "cat-tailed" people of the west are mentioned again *infra*, p. 301, and also elsewhere. We may think possibly of some folk-etymology connecting the word for "cat", *byi-la*, with the name of the Balti people. The name *Gtsaṅ*, which evidently does not here denote the Gtsang province, the southern central region including Shigatse, is elsewhere spelled *Rtsaṅ*. We have mention of the Rtsaṅ-mi and Śiṅ-mi of the west, erroneously represented by the Ladak *Rgyal-rabs* as "Rtsa-mi and Śiṅ-mi of the east" (Francke, op. cit., p. 83): does the former possibly denote the Śāmi or Sam-pa-ha country (*supra*, p. 149), to the north of Citral and west of the Gilgit-Hunza region?

⁵ *Sbal-gnon* must denote the Balti country, which is also known to the Tibetans as Nan-god. Since the expression *Sbal-gnon* does not occur elsewhere, it is likely that a *jeu-d'esprit* is intended, the Baltis being designated "frog-squeezers". *Infra* (p. 301) we have apparently the same people mentioned as *śel-gyi-sbal-lcoṅ*, "ice (or river) tadpoles." Or was the expression, in its original form, *Sbal-lcoṅs* or *Sbal-gcoṅ*, with *lcoṅs* = "uneven land" or *gcoṅ* = "deep valley"?

⁶ For *Sna-nams* we are tempted, though *Sna-nams* is a well-established Tibetan name for Samarkand, to seek in this and other passages a meaning other than "Samarkandis"; and it does actually occur (*infra*, pp. 279, 280, Pt. II, p. 306) as a Tibetan place-name. But here it is clearly a question of an important hostile people "in the north"; and the Tibetans themselves seem to have understood "Samarkand", since the *Bodhimō* tells us (op. cit., p. 360) that the armies of Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan ravaged "Samarkand". What political state, however, is indicated (Tokharistan? Farghāna?) is another question.

made them his subjects. Higher than the zenith were the king's authority and rule: longer than a river-bed the territory¹ of his people.

"When he first took over the state, forthwith, in the empire whose stern command reached the eight directions of the earth,² the kings of the four divisions³ occupying the four quarters, who until then had resented commands,⁴ ventured upon hostilities.⁵ The demon army of the Tibetan Red-Faces moved. The armies of the Tibetan state were divided into one hundred myriads⁶: when the commanders engaged in the humbling of kings,⁷ to clear the way in front there were mounted champions one hundred; brigade-leaders⁸ of the right were hero-tigers, one hundred companies (*cha*); brigade-leaders on the left were dagger-armed soothsayers⁹ one hundred; guarding the rear¹⁰ were mail-clad¹¹ spear-bearers one hundred.

"In the Gsóg¹² region of China-land the army waited¹³: hero champions were selected for the army vanguard: the enemy host was defeated, enclosed in a ring of arms¹⁴: the authority and rule of state were left without a rival.

"In the south the Indian kings there established, the Rājā Dharma-dpal and Draḥu-dpun,¹⁵ both waiting in their

¹ Or "state" (*chab-srid*). "River-bed" is *chu-boḥi-bzūn-ba*.

² *mtshah-bzi* = Sk. *catur-antā*.

³ *sde-bzi*: Does this mean "four classes of kings", or simply "the four groups of kings"? The phrase recurs in V, c. 2 (fol. 6b, 3).

⁴ *khon-byun*, cf. p. 273, n. 10.

⁵ *dgra-ru-bsdo*.

⁶ *khri-tsho*: On the number see *infra*, p. 281.

⁷ *dmag-dpon-rgyal-po-hdul-baḥi-dus-su*: Or could this mean "when the commander, the king, was training (or exercising) them"?

⁸ *ru-hdren*.

⁹ *shags-mkhan-phur-thogs*.

¹⁰ *rjes-myul*.

¹¹ *zub-chen* (for *zub-can*).

¹² Gsóg ("Wing") seems to be known only as "a place in Tibet" (S. C. Das' dictionary), Gsóg-thogs.

¹³ *bul*.

¹⁴ *mtshon-chah-i-hkhor-lo-bskor*.

¹⁵ Dharma-dpal must be the Bengal Pāla king Dharmapāla (c. A.D. 769-801), well known to the Tibetans (the "Kambojas" of Bengal history) as a contemporary of Khri-sron-ldeḥu-btsan: see Tārānāth's history, trans. Schiefner, Index. *Draḥu-dbon*, the reading in the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* Index (fol. 15a), might mean "nephew, or grandson, Dra-ḥu".

lands¹ under order to shut up their armies,² yielded the Indian kingdom in subjection to Tibet: the wealth of the Indian country [22a], gems and all kinds of excellent provisions,³ they punctually paid. The two great kings of India, upper and lower, out of kindness to themselves,⁴ pay honour to commands.

"In the west the Ta-zig⁵ kings there established, king La-mer-mu and Hab-gdal,⁶ having taken kindly to Tibetan command, paid punctually without fail their gems and wealth and five-loads⁷ of medicaments and acceptable provisions. Under Tibetan sway they made their state to flourish: the orders issued to themselves⁸ they heard with respect.

"The Gru-gu Ge-sar,⁹ residing in the northern quarter, having until then, in resentment at commands,¹⁰ shown rivalry, the demon Red-Face army of Tibet was set in motion. As far as 'On-ñu¹¹ in the Gru-gu kingdom the army forces of Tibet set up their black tents and escorted the people,

¹ *ka-bśgugs-nas*.

² *dmag-sgo-gcod-pa*.

³ *kha-zas-bzañ-dgu*.

⁴ *rañ-la-mñan-ciñ*: or "in obedience to him"?

⁵ I.e. Tājik: elsewhere we have *Rta-sig* (Bkañ-hgyur), *Rta-mjng* (*supra*, p. 250, n. 6), *Ta-chig* (*Tibetan Chronicle*, I. 209), *Stag-gzigs*, etc.

⁶ *La-mer-mu* and *Hab-gdal*. *Hab-gdal* represents, perhaps, the Hephthalite kingdom of the Pamir (*supra*, p. 150-1), though it might be = 'Abdu 'Ulañ. *La-mer-mu* presents difficulty. It can scarcely denote Hārūn al-Rashīd: can it possibly be a corruption of *Māwarā-un-nahr*, which in the form [*Stag-gzig*] *Mu-wer* [-gyi-rgyal-po] we find elsewhere as a designation of the Musalman power? See Klaproth, *Sprache und Schrift der Uigur*, p. 34.

⁷ *lha-dos*: The phrase, which recurs below, is perhaps idiomatic (for *rñu-dos*, "camel-load"?).

⁸ Or "their own orders, *rañ-gi-bkañ-stsal*, were heard with respect (by their subjects)".

⁹ On Ge-sar and the Gru-gu (= Dru-gu) see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 287 sqq. It is interesting to note that in this and the next passage Ge-sar, who in Tibetan legend has become a national hero, was originally a hostile, and an inveterately hostile, dynasty. How the legend came to be claimed by the Tibetans, and perhaps especially by the western Tibetans (see Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 70-1), may be explainable by the forced migration of his people to the Mon country, as related here. Originally this story cannot have had anything to do with Tibetan localities.

¹⁰ *hkhon-byun*. Cf. p. 272, n. 4.

¹¹ Or "On-du"; = On-gu of Rubruck's *Journey* (pp. 110-11, n.)?

divorced from their land, into the Mon¹ territory. Though given a home [and (?)] town in Mon territory, they were discontented, relying upon evil men in the country. A terrifying leader² being posted to garrison the country,³ the Gru-gu Ge-sar gave his submission as a servant of Tibet.

"Upon the Li land descended Tibetan army forces: the red-willow grove⁴ of the Li land came into subjection. Upon China in the east a Tibetan army descended: the Chinese great king Be-chu^{hi},⁵ yielded his state to Tibetan dominion and rule; five-loads of silk and satin,⁶ gems many and acceptable provisions he paid without default in time.

"When of Jambū-dvīpa two or three parts had been conquered, at the centre of Bsam-yas a doctrinal foundation was established: of chiefs and subjects [22b] twenty and five attained *siddhi*; having won mastery over their life-power,⁷ they reached the *Vidyādhara*⁸ stage. The highly honoured renounced the world, by grace of the pebbles beneath their feet.⁹ At Yer-pa in Mchims-pu¹⁰ was established a meditation

¹ On the Mon territory, see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 288, 299.

² *spa-bkon-ded-dpon* (*°sārtha-vāha*).

³ *mkhar-tsho*: On the phrase see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 424, 432; or is *yul-khar-htsho* intended?

⁴ *lcan-ra-smug-po*: Apparently a standing epithet of Khotan, since it recurs *infra*, p. 290, n. 6.

⁵ Be-chu (cf. Be-ta, Be-to, Be-ri in eastern Tibet = Wei-chou of Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, pp. 505, 509-510, 523) was a territorial designation of a part of China (in Sse-chuan?), since elsewhere (II, fol. 38b, 4) the text speaks of *Rgya-nag-Be-chu*.

⁶ *dar-zab*, a recurring phrase.

⁷ *tshe-la-mñah-brñas* = *āyur-vaśīkaraṇa*. Cf. *tshe-la-dban-pa*.

⁸ *rigs-ldzin*: Cf. Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* (trans.), p. 97.

⁹ *zabs-hog-rdehu-bton*: The dictionaries give the phrase *rdehu-hdon-pa* with the sense "removing of stones". The Ladak *Rgyal-rabs* has *lbañs-kyi-nañ-nas-sar-rab-tu-byun-ba-lañan* | *zabs-hog-gi-rdehu-dbuñi-gtsug-tu-khur-bañi-khrims-mdzad-nas*, which Dr. Francke renders "Several of the subjects received the new dignity of orders. It was made a custom [among the lamas] to carry on the crown of their heads the pebbles which are below the feet". Similarly in the *Padma-thaṅ-yig* (II, c. 7, fol. 21a, 2) we have *zabs-hog-rdehu-bton-dbu-yi-mchod-gnas-mazad*, "having removed the pebbles beneath their feet, they made

college : in Bsam-yas of Lha-sa was established a doctrinal college.

" Aloft the chiefs profound, below the folk deluded ¹: equally shared their virtues, their happiness equal to that of Indra the Deva, lord of the Thirty and Three. The king's dominion and rule like a royal parasol uplifted ; the people's state like a flourishing harvest ; the four regions, the eight frontiers, established in rule of virtue and goodness ; the state law of five divisions ² together with the internal regulations ³ ; justice ⁴ in its five procedures discriminating the seven classes of right and wrong ⁵ ; in the interior the beer-sap drawn from the three provinces ⁶ ; from four classes of borderers ⁷ yield of treasure and wealth ⁸ ; from the frontier guard-houses ⁹ taxes brought in ; by fierce heroes of five kinds the border guard-houses held ; by hero-companies, tiger-regiments, ¹⁰ foreign countries were subdued in war ; god's law, man's law, both flourishing and prosperous ; the whole land of Tibet in enjoyment of happiness."

" End of Chapter vii, ' How there came a Righteous King ¹¹ in Tibet. ' "

them an object of honour to their heads." Perhaps the real meaning is given by another passage (II, c. 8, fol. 23b, 3) *zabs-hog-rdehu-bton-nas-dbu-skra-bcad*, " having removed the pebbles beneath their feet, they cut the hair of their heads," i.e. they underwent tonsure with a stone razor, scissors being forbidden (S. C. Das' dict., s.v.)

¹⁰ *Mchims-pu* is not far from Bsam-yas, and Yer-pa is in the same district.

¹ *hphrul*, i.e. not yet spiritually enlightened.

² The five divisions would be acc. to Sron-btsan's code ?

³ *nan-gi-bcah-khrims*.

⁴ *zal-lce*.

⁵ *legs-ñes-bdun-staṅs* : unknown.

⁶ *bsiṅs-khu-hdren*, i.e. the cream, as we say, was obtained. *Bsiṅs* is stated to be a kind of weak beer. The three provinces of the interior (*dbus-kyi-mñah-ris-gsum*) would be Dbus-Gtsaṅ, Mñah-ris Skor-gsum, and Mdo-Khams ?

⁷ See *supra*, p. 272, n. 3.

⁸ *dkor-nor*.

⁹ *sva-kha* = *so-kha* : cf. *Rgyal-rabs* (Francke), p. 29, l. 6.

¹⁰ *stag-sde* : concerning "Tigers" see Index.

¹¹ *chos-rgyal* = *dharma-rāja*.

(h) Bk. V, c. 2 (fol. 6a, 6)

"In the east, beneath the rising of the constellation Pleiades,¹ is China, the king of wisdom.² Having come there, to the east of the Chinese Five-peak mountain,³ Mañjuśrī in five forms⁴ (sc. colours) expounded in eighty-four thousand (verses or topics) the principles of calculation.⁵

"In the south, beneath the rising of the constellation Gaṇḍūṣa,⁶ is India, the king of religion. Buddhas one thousand and seven generations came. At the time of the Kali age, [when life was] one hundred years, the Buddha Śākya-muni expounded in eighty-four thousand (verses or topics) the principles of religion.⁷

"In the west, beneath the [New]-moon day, is, they say, the Ta-zig,⁸ the king of wealth. The [part of] teacher was enacted by Ārya Dambhala⁹: his work was the riddance of poverty, need, and pain.

"In the north, beneath the rising of the constellation Great Bear,¹⁰ is Khrom Ge-sar, the king of armies. Meaning of *sūtras* only as far as thirty he professes."¹¹

With this passage compare No. III (c), *supra*.

(i) Bk. V, c. 4 (fol. 8a, 5-9b, 4)

"Next an account of armies [and] horses of the Thousand-districts:—

(i) "In the Gtsaṅ brigade-division are eight Thousand-

¹ *Smin-drug*.

² *gtsug-lag-rgyal-po*: cf. p. 266, n. 3.

³ I.e. the famous Wu-tai-shan in Shan-si, which is described in the *Life* of Padmasambhava: see Grünwedel, *Buddhismus von Tibet*, pp. 134 sqq., Huth, *Hor-chos-byun* (tr.), p. 414.

⁴ *ṛnam-pa-lha*.

⁵ *rtsis-kyi-sgo-mo*, implying astrology, etc. On *sgo-mo*, see *supra*, p. 32, n. 1.

⁶ *Lag-sor* = (?)

⁷ *chos-kyi-sgo-mo*, p. 32, n. 1.

⁸ See *supra*, p. 266.

⁹ = Jambhala, Dzam-bha-la, god of riches, concerning whom see Grünwedel, op. cit. (index), Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (index).

¹⁰ *Sme-bdun*.

¹¹ *glen-ba-yin*.

districts, with a minor sub-Thousand,¹ nine. As to these, Mañ-gar² [and] Khri-dgoṅs are Thousand-districts of Hbro³; Grom-pa⁴ [and] Lha-rtse⁵ are Thousand-districts of Hbro. Among the army-commanders of the four brigades at the time of fighting between China and Tibet⁶ the army-commander of the brigade-division is the Hbro king Lion. The brigade horse is bay with red tinge⁷; the brigade banner is a white lion, holding the sky uplifted⁸; the brigade *sgab* is Snañ-stag Byu-ru-mtshal⁹; the record-keeper¹⁰ [8b] assigns copper writing; the fighting spirit is like a stone-avalanche on ice.¹¹ The sum total is three hundred and sixty thousand.

“In the Lower brigade-division are four Thousand-districts. Nññ-ro is the Hdre¹² Thousand-district; Khri-tha¹³ the Khyuñ-po¹⁴ Thousand-district; Gad-bkram¹⁵ the Hgos¹⁶ Thousand-district; the townspeople the Śu-gu¹⁷ Thousand-district; the mart minor sub-Thousand is the Sgro¹⁷ Thousand-district. Of the Lower brigade-division the army-commander is Hdre Rgyal-to-re Khri-lod.¹⁷ The brigade horse is bay with black mane; the brigade banner is white silk, covering a design¹⁸; the brigade *sgab* is Khyuñ-po

¹ *ston-bu-chuñ*.

² A Mañ-khar regiment is mentioned in the documents, Pt. II, p. 463.

³ See *infra*, Pt. II, p. 303.

⁴ For a Grom-pa regiment, see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 460.

⁵ A well-known place.

⁶ See *infra*, p. 301.

⁷ *ñañ-pa-kphrul-dmar*.

⁸ *gnam-begren-thogs*.

⁹ Unknown.

¹⁰ *yig-tshañs-pa*: see p. 285 and Index.

¹¹ *śel-gyi-mo-rdel-bkram-pa*.

¹² See *infra*, p. 284.

¹³ See *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 461-2.

¹⁴ A well-known tribe or sept: see *infra*, p. 284 and Index, and Ladak Rgyal-rabs (trans.), p. 77, *Geographia Tibeta*, pp. 42-3.

¹⁵ See *infra*, Pt. II, p. 457.

¹⁶ A well-known tribe or sept: see p. 284.

¹⁷ Unknown.

¹⁸ *than-hgebs*: “covered with designs”?

Spu-sna-zuñ¹; the records are turquoise writing; the fighting spirit is like hail falling upon a plain.² This also is three hundred and sixty thousand.

"The sum total of Upper and Lower together is stated at seven hundred and twenty thousand."

(ii) "In the right-hand brigade are eight Thousand-districts. Upper Yoñs, High Śaṅs³ are the Khyuñ-po Thousand-districts; Lañ-mi, Phod-dkar are the Pa-tshab Thousand districts⁴; Drañ-border, Gñen-dkar are the Laṅs Thousand-districts⁵; Yel-rab, High Zom are the Hgos Thousand-districts⁶; the Śaṅs minor sub-Thousand is the Riñ-sle-bya⁷ Thousand-district.

"Of the Upper right-hand brigade the army-commander is the Rgyal-ba Ye-śes,⁸ those six, the grandfather, Khyuñ-po Stag Zaṅs-ñāñ,⁸ being placed at the head. The brigade horse is white-footed with sparks; the brigade banner is black, like a lake; the brigade *sgab* is Pa-tshab Mtsho-bzer⁸; the records are copper writing; the fighting spirit is like spreading coral stems.⁹ The sum total is three hundred and fifty thousand.

"Of the Lower right-hand brigade the army commander is Hgos Khri-bśñon-dbal-mo.⁸ The brigade horse is blue with turquoise wings¹⁰; the brigade banner is a lion variegated at the top; the brigade *sgab* is Laṅs-pa Mgon-bu¹¹; [9a] the record

¹ Perhaps not a proper name, but = "the two chief brothers".

² *than-la-ser-ba-bab-pa*.

³ *Stod-Yoñs*, *Śaṅs-sten*, both unknown.

⁴ *Lañ-mi* and *Phod-dkar* regiments are mentioned in the documents *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 462-3, 466: the districts are here definitely associated with the Pa-tshab, also mentioned in the documents *infra*, Pt. II, p. 305, and in *Bkañ-hgyur* and *Bstan-hgyur* colophons and elsewhere, and belonging to north-eastern Tibet.

⁵ For a (G)ñen-dkar regiment see the documents, Pt. II, p. 466.

⁶ For Yel-rab and Zom regiments see the documents, Pt. II, pp. 469-470.

⁷ Unknown.

⁸ All unknown.

⁹ *byu-ruñi-sdoñ-po-bkram-pa*.

¹⁰ *g-yu-gśog*.

¹¹ Unknown = "the young chief of Lañ(s)"?

writing is copper writing; the fighting spirit is like fire kindling among boards.¹ The sum total is stated ² at three hundred and fifty thousand.

"Combining, we have at present ³ about seven hundred thousand.

(iii) "As to the Thousand-districts of the Middle brigade, Upper and Lower: there are the *Hbrin*-border, the *Phyug*-border Thousand-districts ⁴; *Bcom-pa*, *High Zom* are the *Cog-ro* Thousand-districts ⁵; *Dor-de*, *Ste-hjam* are the *Rma* and *Ka-ba* Thousand-districts ⁶; Upper *Skyid*, Lower *Skyid* are the *Sbas* Thousand-districts; *Yel-zabs* minor sub-Thousand is the *Bran-kha* Thousand-district.⁷

"As to the army-commander of the Upper Middle brigade, it is *Sna-nam Rgan-mo-chun* ⁸; the brigade horse has a white mane⁹ tossed by the wind; the brigade banner is on red silk, shining like a white flame¹⁰; the brigade *sqab* is *Snon-hdan-gsum Hgron-skyes*¹¹; the record writing is copper writing; the fighting spirit is like a herd of young yak descending.¹² The sum total is three hundred and seventy thousand.

"As to the army-commander of the Lower Middle brigade, it is *Sbas Skyes-bzan Stag-snañ*.¹³ The brigade horse is white-

¹ *span-la-me-mched*.

² *bzed*.

³ *kha-da-chad*.

⁴ *Phyug-mtshams*, in *Mdo-Khams*, is mentioned *infra*, Pt. II, p. 106, and in *Bkahl-hgyur* (Beckh, p. 74) colophons, and *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, p. 96). *Hbrin* may be error for *Hbron* (Pt. II, p. 459).

⁵ On the *B(G)com-pa* and *Zom* regiments and on *Cog-ro*, see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 457, 470.

⁶ *Dor-de* = *Dor-te*, *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 456-7; *Ste-hjam*, *ibid.*, p. 468; *Rma* belongs to the district of the *Rma-river* (upper *Hoang-ho*): concerning *Ka-ba* see *Ska-ba* (Pt. II, p. 294).

⁷ *Skyid* and *Bran-kha* are known; *Yel-zabs* is unknown; on *Sbas*, see p. 284 and Index.

⁸ Unknown. *Sna-nam* is here a place in Tibet: see *infra*, p. 280.

⁹ *ze-dkar*.

¹⁰ *me-lce-dkar-por-gsal-ba*.

¹¹ Unknown.

¹² *hbron-dar-khyu-hbebs*.

¹³ Unknown. On *Sbas* see p. 302.

footed with leopard streaks; the brigade banner is a lion, black at the top; the brigade *sgab* is Śud-pu Khoñ-hbrin Tson-btsan¹; the fighting spirit is like darkness enveloping a lake.² The sum total is three hundred and seventy thousand.

(iv) "In the left-hand brigade are eight Thousand-districts, with a minor sub-Thousand, nine. Yar-klun̄s and Phyi-luñ, two, are the Gñags and Tshe-spon̄ Thousand-districts³; Ljañ-kyañ and Luñ-pa, these two, are the Myañ and Sna-nam⁴ Thousand-districts; Gñal and Lho-brag, these two, are the Mchims and Sñi-ba Thousand-districts⁵; Ñañ and D[w]ags-po, these two, are the Ldoñ and Mchims Thousand-districts⁶; [9b] the Ri-bo minor sub-Thousand is the Sprañston⁷ Thousand-district.

"Of the Upper left-hand brigade the army commander is named Myañ Stag-bzañ G-yu-brtan.⁸ The brigade horse is black-butterfly-speckled(?)⁹; the brigade banner is a lion confronting(?)¹⁰; the brigade *sgab* is Žañ-ma-bžeñs Stos-chuñ¹¹; the record writing is copper writing; the fighting spirit is like a leaden container bursting(?).¹² The sum total is three hundred and fifty thousand.

"Of the Lower left-hand brigade the army-commander is Mchims Rin-cen Rgyal-gzigs.¹³ The brigade horse is earth-

¹ Unknown.

² *mtsho-la-mun-pa-lthebs-pa*: The simile is, no doubt, that of a dark mist advancing swiftly over a lake.

³ *Yar-klun̄s* (Yar-luñ), *Gñags* and *Tshe-spon̄* are known (S.E. Tibet); *Phyi-luñ* may be the Phyin-luñ mentioned in the *Me-lon̄*, fol. 13a, 4.

⁴ On the Ljañ (*Hjañ*) see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 107, and Cordier, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 45; iii, p. 112; the *Myañ* are frequently mentioned, and *Sna-nam* here declares itself. Cf. Laufer, *T'oung pao*, ii, ix (1908), p. 31, n. 3.

⁵ *Gñal* and *Lho-brag* (Bhutan frontier) and *Mchims* are known, *Sñi-ba*, no doubt = *Gñi-ba* (*infra*, Pt. II, p. 303).

⁶ These are all known.

⁷ *Sprañ* occurs as a surname, V, fol. 8a, 4.

⁸ Unknown.

⁹ *snag-gi-bya-ma-žo*. For a speckled horse see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pl. lxii.

¹⁰ *kha-sprod* (?)

¹¹ Unknown.

¹² *ža-ñehi-them-bu-brdal-ba*.

¹³ Unknown: cf. Mchims Rgyal-gzigs (*Räja-cakṣus*) Klu-mthoñ (V, c. 19, 39b, 3; c. 26, 50b, 6, etc.).

honey-turquoise-—(?)¹; the brigade banner is like the Agreeables of Five Kinds²; the brigade *sgab* is Lho-stag-chu Khri-zigs³; the record writing is copper writing; the fighting spirit is like pigeons alighting upon food. The sum total is three hundred and fifty thousand.

“Combining Upper and Lower, we have at present⁴ about seven hundred thousand.

“Thus have been exhibited the army numbers, man and horse. As to the Thousand-districts forty-two: reckoning, in addition to Thousand-districts forty complete,⁵ four minor sub-Thousands as two, the extra two are provided for.”⁶

“End of Chapter Four, ‘Consideration of Armies and Horse of the Thousand-districts.’”

This important passage exhibits the territorial distribution of the Tibetan army when the country was at the height of its power. The total number of fighting men is given as about 2,860,000, a great figure, which in a population of, say, seven millions, must have been to a considerable extent nominal, but in any case implies a vast system of manhood service.⁷

The whole country was divided into four “horns”, a term which we have rendered by “brigade”, since no doubt the designation, derived perhaps from the Chinese, was primarily military. These are (i), the Gtsaṅ brigade, corresponding to the Gtsaṅ province, the southern part of Central Tibet; (ii) the right-hand, i.e. the northern, brigade, corresponding to north-eastern Tibet (Mdo-Khams, etc.); (iii) the middle or head brigade (*Dbu-ru*), corresponding apparently to Central Tibet (*Dbus*), wherein Lha-sa is situated, though whether it extended eastward, so as to intervene between

¹ *saḥi-sbraṅ-ma-g-yu-lpḥyon*.

² *sna-lha-mdzes-pa*: Unknown (= *pañca-bhadra* or *pañcāṅga*?).

³ Unknown. *Lho-stag-chu* = “South Tiger River”.

⁴ *kha-da-chad*.

⁵ *tham-pa*.

⁶ *thim*.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 272, n. 6.

Nos. (ii) and (iv), is not clear ; (iv) the left-hand, i.e. southern, brigade, corresponding clearly to south-eastern Tibet, the Bhutan and China frontiers.

In this division we find no account taken of (1) Western Tibet and Ladak ; (2) the desolate northern plain (*Byan-thaṅ*), which may well have counted as uninhabited ; (3) countries outside the Tibetan frontiers, but under its dominion. We have abundant evidence (*infra*, Pt. II, pp. 147, 455 sqq.) to show that regiments were named after, and raised in, populations comprised under (3). It seems therefore possible that such regiments and any corresponding to (1) were counted not as regular Tibetan troops, but as auxiliaries.

Each "brigade" was divided into two brigade-divisions (*ru-lag*), "Upper" (*stod*) and "Lower" (*smad*). These terms are usually employed with reference to altitude ; and in view of the marked differences (see Sandberg, *Tibet*, 1905, pp. 138 sqq.) between the life of the mountain and plain populations in Tibet, it is possible that the same sense applies here. If, however, this was the principle of the distinction between "Upper" and "Lower", the parts of a division would not necessarily be contiguous : the territorial arrangement would have been disturbed, and there might have been other inconveniences. It is therefore worth while to entertain the possibility that "Upper" and "Lower" are used in the senses of "nearer to the centre" (i.e. Lha-sa) and "further from the centre" : this is in accordance with the general slope of the country towards the south, the east, and the north ; and it applies evidently to the case of Mdo-smad, which was a definite territory, the most north-easterly part of Tibet. The geographical particulars given are not such as to furnish a certain guidance in regard to this matter. It may also be noted that in some cases the people of towns are mentioned as constituting "minor sub-Thousands".

Each "division" has a commander and a second officer, entitled *sgab*.

Each division is subdivided into a (varying) number of

“Thousand-districts” (*ston-sde*), a term which does not appear in the dictionaries, but occurs in the Tibetan chronicle (l. 252) and in the documents from Chinese Turkestan (*infra*, Pt. II, pp. 318-19, 341). In the case of India the territorial meaning of the word “thousand” presents difficulties; does it mean villages, or estates, or does it depend upon revenue? ¹ What is certain here is that it does not refer to population, since a “division” of eight, or even four, “Thousand-districts” may furnish 360,000 men. At one period, we are told, the whole country of Tibet was divided into eighteen “Thousand-districts”, so that it was designated “The Eighteen Thousand-districts”. ²

The total number of “Thousand-districts” is stated in the text as forty-two, being forty + four “minor sub-Thousands” reckoned as two “Thousand-districts”. The detailed figures assigned to the several brigades, viz. I, 4 + 4, + 1 “sub-Thousand”; II, 8, + 1 “sub-Thousand”; III, 8, + 1 “sub-Thousand”; IV, 8, + 1 “sub-Thousand”, yield only thirty-two “Thousand-districts” and four “minor sub-Thousands”. We must therefore suppose either that there has been a mistake in addition, which seems unlikely, or (2) that a whole “brigade” has been omitted, or (3) that the extra-Tibetan “Thousand-districts” to which we have referred are included in the total of forty.

The manner in which the Thousand-districts are set forth is not perspicuous. The statements are all of the types “Mañ-gar [and] Khri-dgoṅs are the Thousand-districts of *Hbro*” (p. 277), “*Nān-ro* is the *Hdre* Thousand-district” (p. 277), “*Yar-kluṅs* and *Phyi-luṅ* are the *Gñags* and *Tshe-spoṅ* Thousand-districts” (p. 280); and some of the names which occur in the predicate-parts of these sentences, e.g. *Hbro*, *Khyuñ-po*, *Mchims*, recur in the same “brigade” or in more than one “brigade”. These names are *Hbro*,

¹ Cf. the English “Hundreds”? See Dr. Pran Nath, *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, pp. 23 sqq.

² *Bkañ-hgyur* Index, fol. 12b, 3. Cf. the *Ladak Rgyal-rabs* (Francke), p. 65.

Hdre, *Khyuñ-po*, *Hgos*, *Pa-tshab*, *Lañs*, *Cog-ro*, *Rma*, *Ka-ba*, *Sbas*, *Gñags*, *Tshe-spoñ*, *Myañ*, *Sna-nam*, *Mchims*, *Sñi-ba*, *Ldoñ*; and, as several of them are old tribal names (e.g. *Hdre*, *Khyuñ-po*, *Hgos*, *Pa-tshab*, *Lañs*, *Rma*, *Sbas*, *Myañ*, *Ldoñ*), and as they number seventeen, it is probable that they represent the original division of the country into eighteen districts, according to tribes. Thus the later military division, strictly territorial, was superimposed upon the old tribal division, with the result that in some cases a tribe is represented in more than one "brigade". The tribal factor still appears in the circumstances that the "brigade", or division, commander is generally a tribal leader: thus in "brigade" I we have the *Hbro* king and the *Khyuñ-po* nobles, in brigade II a *Khyuñ-po* and a *Hgos*, in brigade III a *Sbas*, in brigade IV a *Myañ* and a *Mchims*, these being clearly the heads of the leading tribes represented in the corresponding territories.

The names assigned to the "Thousand-districts" seem to be in the main local, being either names of actual places, e.g. *Lha-rtse*, *Dor-de*, *Yar-kluñs*, or of minor tribal areas, such as *Ñañ-ro*, *Lañ-mi*, *Phod-dkar*, *Hbri(o)ñ-mtshams*, *Phyug-mtshams*, *Skyid*, *Ljañ-kyañ*, *Gñal*, *Lho-brag*, *D(v)ags-po*. It is by these names that the regiments (*sde*) are known: in the documents from Chinese Turkestan several of them actually occur, along with other regiments named, as is natural, from districts outside Tibet, where they were raised (Pt. II, pp. 455 sqq).

Since a "Thousand-district" might include such numbers of men as 50,000 or even 90,000, it is evident that only a portion of these men would ordinarily be called up for service in the corresponding *sde*: we do not seem to hear of battalions 1, 2, 3, etc., belonging to one *sde*. The word used for calling up or levying is *sko*; and no doubt the process would raise questions in regard to eligibility, substitution, exchange, and so on, whereof in fact, the documents from Chinese Turkestan afford some inklings (*infra*, Pt. II, pp. 437 sqq., 453 sqq.).

In the present passage we have no further details concerning the officering, provisioning, medical care, regulations, strategy, or tactics of the Tibetan army. But we have already cited a passage (p. 272) describing the marching order; and from the documents we shall be able to elicit a number of official titles and other particulars (*infra*, Pt. II, pp. 418 sqq.). It is clear that the Tibetan armies were far from being mere masses of men.

One more general point arises in connection with the present extract. Did the Tibetan army consist mainly or exclusively of mounted men? The chapter seems to profess to give the number of men and horses; but some of the descriptions of the horses are puzzling, one being, for instance, literally "blue with turquoise wings", and in general it seems hard to believe that the mounts of a whole division could match.¹ Possibly the descriptions are meant to apply to a figure of a horse, accompanying the banner which is described in the same contexts. Nevertheless, considering the great distances covered by the Tibetan troops and the habits of the country, we may well believe that the bulk was composed of riders.

The records (*yig-tshans*)² mentioned in each case include perhaps all the registers and official documents relating to the particular division: in one case an officer in charge of such records (*yig-tshans-pa*) is mentioned. The description of the writing, in one case as "turquoise", in the others as "copper", relates doubtless to the colour, the use of different inks or inscriptions, gold, silver, etc., having been familiar to the Tibetans: the common documents from Chinese Turkestan are indeed all in black writing, but we find in them references to other scripts (Pt. II, pp. 407-8).

The persons mentioned as commanding officers or second in command (*sgab* ?) seem to be represented as those in

¹ But this is said of the Hiung-nu armies (Wylie, *J. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1874, p. 412).

² The phrase, in the sense of records, is found in the *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ*, foll. 32a, 3, 33a, 6: also see Index.

office during the time of the war with China, in the course of the reign of Khri-sroñ-ldehu-btsan or his son Mu-tig Btsan-po. They are evidently regarded as contemporary with the ministers named in the same text, of whom one at least is known from other sources. Their names are in form highly credible, and perhaps some of them are mentioned in the documents from Chinese Turkestan.¹

(j) Bk. V, c. 8 (fol. 12a, 6)

“‘The country extended, foreign armies subdued’—as to this saying, how now was the country extended? Accomplishing of what was necessary; secrets kept under seal; openness displayed, the mind’s secrets a buried treasure.²

“As regards this southern Jambū-dvīpa in particular:—From the sugarcane growths³ in the east, from the bamboo rattan woods in the south, to the woods near the Dri-za

¹ We may note the following names of ministers mentioned in our text:—

<i>Surname (tribal, etc.).</i>	<i>Personal Designation.</i>
Dmag-dpon	Lha-bzañ Klu-dpal (mentioned also in <i>Rgyal-rabs</i> , 34b, 5).
	Khri-bzañ Yab-lhag.
	Mdo-bžer Spre-chuñ.
Mchims	Dpal-señ-ge.
Šud-pu	Lha-snañ.
Sna-nam-zañ- dañ-Rgya-tsha*	Klu-goñ.
Nan-lam, Rta-ra	Khri-thog-rje (mentioned in <i>Rgyal-rabs</i> , 32b, 6).
Cog-ro	Skyes-za Rgyal-hgroñ.
”	Skyes-bzañ (<i>Rgyal-rabs</i> , 32b, 6).
Sbas	Gnam-bžer Zla-btsan.
Mchims	Rgyal-gzigs Klu-mthoñ.
	Khri-hbriñ Lha-lod.
	Stag-sna Ldoñ-gzigs.
Zañ-gi	Ña-bzañ.
Hgos	Mdzañs-hphrul.
Me-hgo	Lha-luñ-gzigs.
Gñer	Stag-mchan Gtoñ-gzig.
Ma-zañ (‘maternal uncle’?)	Khrom-pa-skyabs (<i>Rgyal-rabs</i> , 32b, 5, 33b, 1-2, 3, 5).

² *brtol-mdzod*.

³ *li-kha-ra-yi-šin*.

* I.e. “uncle on the Sna-nam side and grandson of China, i.e. having a Chinese mother”.

pillar¹ in the west, and the Uśnih hills² in the north, Jambūdvīpa has extended kingdoms three or two.

"It is by good government³ that foreign foes are subdued. Foes on four sides are Tibet's portion of foes.⁴ The king of China was to Tibet like a lurking wolf⁵: commander Lha-bzañ Klu-dpal⁶ was China's conqueror. In Tibet he redacted the records of right and wrong⁷: men's deep-founded usages he held very dear. Paṇḍits one hundred and eight were established in Tibet. The poisoned reed-shaft brings China under. The king of India was to Tibet like a coiled snake; having failed to hurt, it is subdued to the will of man⁸: iron and wood, spear and dart, bring India under. The Tajik⁹ king was to Tibet like a vicious hawk: by all the forty different¹⁰ devices it was subdued: onyx and cornelian¹¹ and gold and so forth, its gems, were exposed to view: the smiting sword-edge brings the Tajik under. King Ge-sar was to Tibet like a restive horse¹²: by incongruous¹³ magic Ge-sar was subdued, delusive expedients becoming catapults¹⁴ and weapons instruments of mind¹⁵: the unwound¹⁶ army of Tibet brings Ge-sar under. The good time having openly¹⁷

¹ *dri-za-ka-ba*: *tri-za*, *dri-śa* seems in the *Padma-thaṅ-yig* to have practically the sense of *Ti-se* = Kailāsa.

² *U-śnihi-ri-bo* (= Gandhamādana?).

³ *bkaḥ-khrims*.

⁴ *dgra-skal*.

⁵ *spyañ-ltar-hjab*: See *supra*, p. 266, where the similes are interchanged.

⁶ Lha-bzañ Klu-dpal is mentioned in a passage given *infra* (p. 301): he figures also in the document given *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 101 sqq., and in the *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ*, fol. 34b, 5.

⁷ *legs-ñes-rtsis-gzi*: We might translate 'the bases of right and wrong and of reckoning (weights and measures)'. Also *rtsis-gzi* can mean "register" (for census or taxation).

⁸ *bdos-pas-ma-thub-skyes-kyis-dbañ-du-bśdus*.

⁹ Ta-zig, the Musalmans or else the people of Tokharistan.

¹⁰ *mi-hdra-ba*: The "40 devices" may be known in falconry.

¹¹ *gzi-mchoṅ*.

¹² *rtā-ltar-htshab*: see *supra*, p. 266, n. 9. On Ge-sar as a natural enemy of Tibet see *supra*, p. 273, n. 9.

¹³ *ya-ma-zuñ*.

¹⁴ *sgyogs*.

¹⁵ *go-mtshon*.

¹⁶ I.e. deployed (*hḍril-ba*).

¹⁷ *kha-phyi-la* = *kha-phyir*, *infra*, p. 288, n. 5.

shown its finger,¹ all the minor kings in the four regions were brought under sway. All kingdoms threw open their provinces and lands²: the east, a golden bridge,³ opened the gate of its yellow wealth; the southern bear stopped the mouth of its black bags⁴; the ambrosia stream of the west ceased not its flow; the north laid bare its white flesh and skin.⁵

"Good-minded and with excellent virtues, the best of subjects were at ease in general loyalty⁶; the nobles' authority was like the rising sun; the king's law held fast like a strong bond⁷ of iron; evil-doers, thieves, and robbers being none, confidence was secured⁸; the councillors, of great affluence, accorded in their innermost deliberations⁹: assembled from the [four] directions, the traders,¹⁰ not standing on ceremony,¹¹ uttered freely in talk their unfolded meaning."¹²

"End of Section 8, 'The country extended, foreign armies subdued.'"

IV. 'U-RGYAN-GURU-PADMA-HBYUN-GNAS-KYI-SKYES- RABS-RNAM-THAR

"Account of the Lives of the Guru Padmasambhava, of
Udyāna"

Concerning this work, whereof MS. and xylograph copies exist in London (British Museum, India Office Library, R. Asiatic

¹ Or "weapon" or "sign" (*mtshon*).

² *sa-bcad-yul*.

³ *gser-zam*: *zam* = (1) line, (2) bridge.

⁴ *sgro-nag-po*: Are these the bags of Indian traders?

⁵ *kha-phyir-sa-pags*: Perhaps the Dru-gu, Turks, etc., were fairer in complexion than the "Red-Face" Tibetans.

⁶ *zabs-hog-dar-bas-hbol*.

⁷ *nan-thag* (?): the expression occurs elsewhere in the *Padma-tha-n-yig*, II, c. 1, 2a, 2; c. 16, 41b, 2.

⁸ *blo-gtad-thub*.

⁹ *gros-phugs-mkhun*.

¹⁰ *hgron-po*.

¹¹ *stabs-chags-med* = "not chaffering"?

¹² *don-hdril*.

Society), Oxford (Bodleian Library), Cambridge (University Library) and elsewhere, it is sufficient to refer to the account of it given by Dr. Emil Schlagintweit in his annotated abstract of the first fifty-four chapters (Munich Academy *Abhandlungen*, I, Cl., xxi, II, pp. 419-444, xxii, III, pp. 519-76). As Schlagintweit points out, several of the chapters of the work had previously (1896-) been published in their Tibetan form or in their Lepcha versions, with translations, by Dr. A. Grünwedel, who frequently cites the work, under the title *Padma-thaṅ-yig*, in his *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* (Leipzig, 1900). Under the same title has been published, by M. Gustave Charles Toussaint, a remarkable French translation of a considerable portion of the work (*BÉFE-O.* xx (1920), pp. 13-56, *Journal Asiatique*, cciii (1923), pp. 257-328).¹ The different copies show variety of recension, and the work is by no means modern, as is evident from its citation of places, peoples, and persons long forgotten in Tibet, and from its non-mention of sectarian and other developments. But it refers to Mi-la Ras-pa and to Mongol invasions and is clearly less authentic than the *Padma-thaṅ-yig*, which we have considered above (pp. 264-5).

According to the colophon (fol. 279a-b) of the India Office MS. the work, which is a *gter*, or secretly deposited book, had, beside the title as given above and a title (*Ru-'a-kṣa-śa-ka-ra-ṇa*) in the language of Udyāna (Swat), also the designations *Padma-[b]kaḥi-thaṅ-yig*, *Rnam-thar-bskyed-rabs*, and *Khri-sron-ldeḥu-btsan-bkaḥ-chems* ("Will of K . . ."). For a further history of it see Laufer, *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, pp. 240 sqq.

(a) c. 23 (fol. 81a, 1) = Schlagintweit, c. 29 (T. c. 33, p. 147).

"He came to a country named the Li country, to a great cemetery named Lan-ka-brtsegs², with a circumference of

¹ Complete trans. (T.) published 1933.

² Sk. *Laṅkā-kūṭa*.

three and a half *yojanas*.¹ In the midst a self-created² *stūpa* Keḥu-śa³: a cemetery⁴ place of *Ma-mo-chen-mo*”⁵—further description follows.

Whether Padmasambhava did actually visit Khotan is quite uncertain. He is even stated to have visited China, and the book contains a rather full account of the great monastery of De-śan (Wu-tai-shan) in Shan-si, which has been translated by Grünwedel in his *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 134 sqq. In the supposition of such visits there is no inherent improbability, since during the eighth century A.D. there were many Indians, Buddhists and others, in China and even some in Japan. But, if Padmasambhava had really visited those countries, we should probably have heard more of the fact: in regard to Khotan we may refer to the remark made above (p. 174) in connection with Vimalaprabhā. The actual existence of the cemetery Laṅkā-kūṭa, as of others named in the Padmasambhava story, must be considered doubtful.

(b) c. 45 (fol. 115a 5) = Schlagintweit, c. 49 (T., p. 209)

“[Padmasambhava] went to the Li country and abode in the red willow-grove⁶: Śel-sgoñ⁷ his rock-cave, his intuition co-extensive with space, his work for the sake of others flourishing with fruit and foliage.”

(c) c. 48 (fol. 118b, 5) = Schlagintweit, c. 52 (T., pp. 215-16)

“Then the park(like-country) of Karmarūpa and Ma-ru-rtse, the Ha-za, the Gru-śa country,⁸ Śam-pa-la and the Stag-gzig [and] Ge-ser country,⁹ the Tho-dkar country and the

¹ *dpag-tshad-phye[d]-dan-bzi*.

² *rañ-byuñ* = *svayambhū*.

³ *Keḥu-śa* = *Sk. Kośa*? The MS. has not the name, reading *rtēn-la* instead.

⁴ *sma-śa-ni* = *śmaśāna*.

⁵ = *Mahā-mātr*.

⁶ *lcañ-ra-dmug*, concerning which designation see *supra*, p. 274, n. 4.

⁷ “Crystal-egg” (?), perhaps intended as a proper name: cf. *Padma-tan-yig*, V, fol. 39a, 1, *dri-med-śel-gon-rnam-dag-ihub-pa*.

⁸ *Ha-za-Gru-śaḥi-yul*.

⁹ *Stag-gzig-Ge-ser-yul*.

Srin-po (Rākṣasa) country and Ru-pa-la, the country of the Klu (Nāgas)—all these he brought into the religion.”

Padmasambhava's visits to these countries are, no doubt, in part at least, fictitious. Some of the countries, which were within his immediate horizon, e.g. Karmarūpa, i.e. Kāmarūpa (Assam), the Gru-śa, i.e. Bru-śa, country (Gilgit), Śam-pa-la (Śāmbī), the Rākṣasa country (S.W. of Udyāna), and Ma-ru-rtse, an often mentioned Himalayan district, which, however, we are unable to locate, he may very likely have visited. But it is hardly probable that he went to the countries of the Hā-za (Shan-shan)—unless his visit to China is a fact—or of the Stag-gzig (Tajiks = Farghāna ?) or of Ge-sar (Turfan or Gu-chen ?, see *infra*, Pt. II, pp. 287 sqq.), or of the Tho-dkar (Tokharestan). Ru-pa-la (or Ru-pa only, as in c. 94 *Ru-pa-yul* (Rupchu ?)) and the country of the Nāgas are not identified. Most of these countries are mentioned again in cc. 17, 24, 19, and in *Padma-thaṅ-yig*, IV, fol. 63a, etc.

(d) c. 49 (fol. 121a, 3) = Schlagintweit, c. 53 (T., p. 220)

“Then, dwelling at Vajrāsana, 'U-rgyan Padmasambhava, with volumes of religious writings held up [like] a Jambira flower² in his span, got the doctrine at [the ends of his] fingers.³ In the Li country he went to a white-wood⁴ monastery and remained two hundred years, engaged in the study⁵ of *sūtra* and *mantra*. Then, conceiving that it was unprofitable not to have attained possession of the *Mahāmudrā* charm,⁶ he went to the borderland of Nepal and Tibet.”

(e) c. 55 (fol. 134b, 2) = T. c. 60, p. 245

“Then with body of dreadful size scrutinized by the gods,⁷ head reaching to the Gru-gu country, tail to

² *rab-gnas-me-tog-mthor*.

³ *bstan-pa-soru-tshud*.

⁴ *dkar-śin*: Is a proper name (actual or fictitious) intended? T. gives Puṇḍravardhana (*Li-kaṛ-śin-hphel*).

⁵ *ḥun(dhāraṇa)-hjug*.

⁶ *phyag-rgya-chen-po-rigs-ḥdzin-gcig-grub-pa* = *mahā-mudrā-vidyā-dhara-siddhi*.

⁷ *sku-mñan* (= *gñan* ?) *-thaṅ-lhas-ñams-sad-de*.

the Sog-chu river [of] Khams,¹ [and] the G-yer-mo plain, a white snake the line of his route obstructed . . ." (*the story follows*).

"From G-yer-mo-thañ the master (Padmasambhava) passed on to northern Phan-yul-mo-thañ."

The visit of Padmasambhava to Khams may be fictitious. But the passage shows at least that the writer thought of a Gru-gu country in that region. The Sog-chu river is the upper Salween, and the G-yer-mo-thañ plain is known to have been in Khams (Ś. C. Das' dictionary): its name reminds us of the Dbyar-mo-thañ mentioned *infra* (Pt. II, p. 106), which is perhaps identical with the Yar-mo-thañ or G-yer-mo-thañ "in the province of lower Amdo or Khams" (Ś. C. Das, s.v.; cf. the *Geografia Tibeta* (trans. Wassiliew), p. 41 (G-yar-mo-roñ)). Phan (Hphan)-yul is, of course, in the Lha-sa region.

V. RGYAL-RABS-GSAL-BAHI-ME-LOŃ

"Mirror exhibiting the Royal Lineage"

The *Rgyal-rabs*,² as it is entitled in short, is a history of Tibet, compiled in the year 1328.³ Manuscripts of it are known to exist in London (India Office Library), St. Petersburg (Academy *Bulletin Hist.-Phil.*, 1851, p. 10), and elsewhere. The Ladak *Rgyal-rabs* edited with translation and notes by Dr. Emil Schlagintweit in 1866 (Munich Academy *Abhandlungen*, I, Cl., x Bd., pp. 797-879, with text 1-19), partly re-edited by Dr. Karl Marx in 1891, 1894, 1902 (*JASB.*, vols. lx, lxiii, lxxi), and subsequently again pieced together in an edition with translation and notes by Dr. A. H. Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, ii, pp. 19-148), agrees generally in substance, as far as the earlier Central Tibetan portion is concerned, but diverges at the point where the special history of Western Tibet begins.

¹ *ljug-ma-Khams-kyis*.

² = Sk. *rāja-vamśa*.

³ Laufer in *T'oung pao*, xiv (1913), p. 588.

The main course of the narrative was first made known in the Mongol reproduction of it by Ssanang Ssetsen, whose history of the Eastern Mongols was published, with a German translation and copious notes, by I. J. Schmidt (St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1829). In the notes Dr. Schmidt added very full and valuable renderings of parallel narratives from the Kalmuck *Bodhimör*. These two texts are based upon Tibetan authorities, and, in view of the intimate connections between the two peoples and literatures, they rank as original sources for the criticism of the historical statements. Like the Tibetan histories themselves, they show in nomenclature and other details, and in historical particulars, discrepancies which in many instances pre-existed in their sources. The *Bodhimör* especially is ample in its material. It may be remarked that the very large work, the *Mani-bkash-ḥbum*, ascribed to the Tibetan king Sron-btsan Sgam-po and containing a full account of Buddhism and of the king himself, is familiar to Ssanang Ssetsen (A.D. 1662); very possibly it is attested in earlier Tibetan books; but at any rate the description of it as "a modern work" must be read in the light of Ssanang Ssetsen's date.

The *Rgyal-rabs* is somewhat later than Bu-ston's history of Buddhism (*Chos-byun*); it is later also than the *Deb-ter-sñon-po* ("Blue Register"), which it cites (fol. 33a, 5) under the title *Deb-sñon*, but earlier than the lifetime of Tson-kha-pa, c. A.D. 1357-1419.¹ Though naturally it relates miracles, it is in general a sober work, containing citations of earlier writings, such as those of Bu-ston, and discussions of dates and views.

(a) Xylograph (fol. 11b, 6)

"In the father(Gri-gum)'s lifetime the Gsén Cemetery-Bons of Zan-zun and Bru-sa arrived: in the son (Bya-khri)'s lifetime the fort Stag-rtse of Phyin was built."

This is another version of the tradition in No. III c, *supra*

¹ Laufer, op. cit., pp. 578-80.

(p. 268), where instead of *Zaṅ-žun* and *Bru-śa* the *Ta-zig* and *Ha-za* are named. *Stag-rtse* of *Phyiṅ* is well known: see *Ś. C. Das'* dictionary.

(b) Xylograph (fol. 13b, 1)

"A physician having been summoned from the *Ha-za* country, his eyes were taken out. When his eyes did not grow again, (he acted in accordance with the advice of) the wife of a *Bon-po* in the *Sum-pa* country," and so recovered his sight.

A legend concerning king *Stag-ri Gñan-gzigs*, grandfather of *Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po*. The *Sum-pa* country here mentioned is doubtless that in eastern Tibet, concerning which see *supra*, p. 156, n. 5.

(c) Xylograph (28a, 3)

"His royal father (*Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po*) resumed the sovereignty. It was a time when, in order to initiate the uncivilized people into right law, men with eyes torn out or with heads or limbs amputated were constantly to be seen at the approach to the Iron Hill.¹ Relying upon a prediction that there would be a deeply compassionate king of Tibet, some novices of *Li*² came with that in view; after seeing the heads and limbs of the condemned persons, they showed [to the king] '*A-mi-de-wa*,³ in order to enlighten the misbelieving people, and made him satisfied with the Good Religion. He performed the miracle of going in an instant into the *Li* country. Having in the presence of the five-pinnacled '*Speckled Snake*'⁴ *stūpa* saluted a ragged person with the

¹ *Leags-ri*, attached to the Red Hill (*Potala*) by an iron chain.

² This passage confirms the *Khotan* tradition (*supra*, p. 79) of a connection of Tibet during the time of *Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po* with *Khotan* Buddhism.

³ *Sc. Amitābha, Amida.*

⁴ Or "*Falcon-Snake*", *Khra-lbrug*. This may be the name of an actual *stūpa* in *Khotan*: if so, which? A monastery of this name is known to have been built in Tibet during the reign of *Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po* (*Padma-thaṅ-yig*, II, c. 9, fol. 50a, 3, etc.): it is mentioned in *Bstan-hgyur* colophons (*Cordier*, p. 114), and in the *Geographia Tibeta*, p. 34.

ensigns of a monk, he said, 'Are you surprised that in consideration for the doctrine I, a king of Tibet, have saluted you?' The monk, taking the *stūpa* on the tip of his finger, said, 'Are you surprised at this?'; and, when in return the king showed 'A-mi-de-wa, the venerable person opened his breast with a knife and showed thirty-five Buddhas, and exhibited other scarcely conceivable miracles. The king, on his part, [caused to be made copies of certain texts and deposited them in the pillars of the Jo-khañ temple in Lhasa]."

(d) Xylograph (31a, 1)

"Though he (king Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes 'Ag-tshoms) invited monks from Li and showed respect to them, no men of Tibet became monks."

The first Tibetan monks were to be in the time of the next king, Khri-sroñ-ldehu-btsan: see *supra*, p. 274, n. 9, and A. H. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

(e) Xylograph (34b, 2)

"He (Khri-sroñ-ldehu-btsan) having sent a messenger to Śna-rtiñ¹ to invite Mtsho-las-skyes-pahi-rdo-rje,² afterwards, when on the way Rdo-rje-bdud-hjoms of Sna-nam³ and the other messengers who had been sent with valuable gifts sank down fatigued under the heavy load, the pañdit, knowing this, miraculously alighted at Guñ-thañ in Mañ-yul⁴ and met them."

(f) Xylograph (39a, 3)

"Then upon a deliberation by the Teachers⁵, the disciples and the religion,⁶ all three, as to the tutelary of the [Bsam-yas]

¹ Śna-rtiñ is obviously identical with the Ņa-rtiñ of the *Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā*, *supra*, p. 255. From the present passage we see that it must have been situated further west, towards Udyāna, than Guñ-thañ Mñah-ris Hkhor-gsum.

² Sro-ruha-vajra; see Tārānāth (Schiefner), p. 193.

³ On Sna-nam see *supra*, p. 271, n. 6. Rdo-rje-bdud-hjoms (hchoms) of Sna-nam is several times mentioned in the *Padma-thaṅ-yig* (II, 36 b, 6).

⁴ The meeting of the messengers with the pañdit [Padmasambhava] in Guñ-thaṅ of Mñah-ris Hkhor-gsum is famous.

⁵ Sc. Padmasambhava.

⁶ Sc. the monks.

monastery, Dpe-har, who had come in the train of the property¹ of the Bha-ta-Hor meditation college, when that was captured by the king's (Khri-sron-ldehu-btsan's) army,² was appointed tutelary of the treasury. In some places it is stated that Dpe-har came in the train of the Turquoise Sage (*G-yuhi-thub-pa*) Bse-hbag,³ who, in accordance with a letter sent with a messenger by the Ācārya, the teachers and the religion, all three, was conducted by the Za-hor royal family, the Dharmapālas.⁴ This, it is evident, agrees aptly with the statement that the Ācārya, profoundly distressed by delirium and so forth in [regard to] worldly existences, lost heart⁵ and fled into the Bha-ta-Hor country."⁶

This incident in connection with the foundation of the Bsam-yas monastery is of great interest. As explained by Śarat Chandra Das in his *Contributions* on Tibet (*JASB.* l. (1881), p. 247, Pe-har is "the prince of the genii". In the dictionary it is stated that "Pe-kar or Pe-dkar (also spelt Dpe-dkar or Dpe-har) = *dkor-bdag-rgyal-po* the spirit-king or chief of the custodians of monastic properties. His principal shrine stands in the Nechung [Gnas-chun] grove near Lhasa. He is greatly adored all over Tibet; and it is said that he was brought by Padmasambhava from the monastery of Odantapuri in Magadha . . . Pe-kar-glin, dkor-mdzod, the temple of Pekar in Sam-ye in which the monastic treasures are kept."

Col. Waddell in his *Lamaism* (p. 371) tells us that "Pe-har is a fiend of the 'king' class, and seems to be an indigenous

¹ *ka-ca*.

² The date would be circa A.D. 790 (capture of Pei-ting).

³ Apparently unknown. The physician G-yu-thog was a contemporary, it is true, of Khri-sron-ldehu-btsan. Or can he be the Beg-tse (= Hayagrīva) of Grünwedel, op. cit., pp. 164-6; Miss Getty, op. cit., p. 151?

⁴ The Za-hor (Mande) Dharmapālas are the ruling dynasty of that country; see Ś. C. Das in *JASB.*, 1881, p. 246.

⁵ 'ar-la-glad-pa.

⁶ I.e. it was from the Bha-ta-Hor country that he ultimately came to Tibet.

deified hero, though European writers identify him with the somewhat similarly named Indian god, *Veda* (Chinese Wei-to), who is regularly invoked by the Chinese Buddhists for monastic supplies and as protector of monasteries (*Vihar*; hence, it is believed, corrupted into Pe-har), and chief of the army of the four guardian kings of the quarters.”

In another passage (p. 478) he supplies further important information (cf. Grenard, *La Haute Asie*, ii, pp. 406, 409-410:—

“The Necromancer-in-Ordinary to the government [of Tibet] is the Nā-ch’un sorcerer. The following details regarding him I have obtained from a resident of his temple, and also from several of his clientèle.¹

“This demon-king was originally a god of the Turkī² tribes, and named ‘The White Overcast Sky’,³ and on account of his Turkī descent the popular epic of the famous prince *Kesar*, who had conquered the Turkī tribes, is not permitted to be recited at Depung,⁴ under whose ægis the Nā-ch’un oracle resides, for fear of offending the latter.

“He was brought to Tibet by Padmasambhava in Thi-Sron Detsan’s reign, and made the Ch’o-Kyon or religious guardian of the first monastery Sāmyā. There he became incarnate, and the man possessed by his spirit was styled ‘The Religious Noble’ or Ch’ö-je, and he married and became a recognized oracle with hereditary descent.

“This demon-king is thus identified with Pe-har (usually pronounced *Pé-kar*), although other accounts make him the fourth and younger brother of Pe-har.”

Subsequently (in 1900) a full and highly interesting account of Pe-har, Pe-dkar, was given by Grünwedel (*Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 76, 182-5), who also regards him and his associates as Tibetan local deities. His Chinese equivalent, Wei-to, was discussed by Edkins in his *Chinese Buddhism*

¹ In a note Col. Waddell refers also to some Tibetan tracts.

² A note reads “Hor-pa-lha of the Bādā ḡgom-kaw order”.

³ A note gives as the Tibetan equivalent “gNam-t’o-dKar-po”.

⁴ Hbras-spunḡs.

(1879-93, Index, and later by M. Péri, *BÉFE-O.* xvi (1916), pp. 41-56). In Miss Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (1913 and 1927) the deity is particularized in the section on "The Five Great Kings" (² pp. 168 sqq.).

It may be mentioned that "King Pe-kar" is several times mentioned in the *Padma-thaṅ-yig* (e.g. *Rgyal-pohi-thaṅ-yig*, 33a, 4, b, 5) and appears as an interlocutor in the section edited and translated in Dr. Laufer's *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, pp. 231-2; also in the *Life*.

What we learn from the present passage, and from another to be given *infra* (pp. 300-2), is that Pe-har or Pe-kar was certainly not a Tibetan local divinity, but, as Waddell's informants stated, an importation from Chinese Turkestan. He was brought from the Meditation-College (*sgom-grva* = Sanskrit *dhyaṇa-śālā*), i.e. the College of the Dhyāna-system of Buddhism, of the Bha-ta-Hor people ¹ on the occasion when Khri-sron-ldeḥu-btsan's army, after a victory (over the Chinese and Gru-gu, as stated in the extract *infra*),² brought away the property, presumably treasure, images, etc., of that college. Pe-har, or Pe-kar, therefore, was already acting as guardian of treasure, or as presiding divinity, in an important religious foundation in the Bha-ta-Hor country.

Who then were the Bha-ta-Hor? Clearly, as Col. Waddell was informed, they were some kind of Turks (*Hor*); and from the particulars given in these extracts we see that they were situated on a Chinese-Tibetan-Gru-gu frontier. Now Śarat Chandra Das' dictionary names a people called "*Pe-te-hor*, more properly *Pa-ta-hor*, the country to the east of Yarkand, which was a great place of northern Buddhists". The spelling suggests that this information came to the compiler of the dictionary through Chinese or Turko-Mongol sources; but in any case its authenticity is apparent. It can hardly be doubted that the people in question are the Be-te or

¹ This is what is really meant by Col. Waddell's "Hor-pa-lha of the Bādā agom-kaw".

² On the date see *supra*, p. 296, n. 2.

Pete mentioned in Ssanang Ssetsen's work (Index) and in the *Hor-chos-byun* (trans. Huth, pp. 10 and 15), as at one time situated in the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal and associated with the Bedel pass, leading from Aksu over the Tien-shan to the Wu-sun capital,¹ and that the Chinese *Po-ta-ling* (applied to the mountain range or the pass) corresponds to the Tibetan *Bha-ta* or *Pe-te*.

We may make a further identification. We have taken note *infra* (Pt. II, pp. 292-3) of a certain people entitled *Bzañ-Hor*, "Good or Mild Hor," who furnished a regiment to the Tibetan army. If we translate the word *Bzañ* "Good" most exactly into Sanskrit, it yields the form *bhadra*: considering the prevalence of folk-etymologies in Central Asian and Tibetan literary circles, we can hardly doubt that by the designation *Bzañ-Hor* the *Bha-ta-Hor* are meant. It is interesting to note that a *Bzañ-Hor* chief (*Hbro-chun*) was in the year c. A.D. 727 made Great Minister in Tibet (*Hbro-chun-Bzañ-Hor-man-blon-chen-por-bkañ-stsald*, Chronicle, ll. 196-7).

The name *Pe-kar*, *Pe-har*, would be interesting if it could be traced to some Turkish source. But the associations of the divinity are evidently Buddhist. The suggested connection with the Sanskrit word *vihāra*² is improbable in itself and also because the oldest form of the name seems to be *Dpe-dkar*, i.e. *Pe-kar*. The meaning furnished to Col. Waddell, "The White Overcast Sky," is very probably erroneous, *Gnam-tho-dkar-po* being substituted for *Rnam-thos-dkar-po*, "The White Vaiśravaṇa or Kuvera," since *Pe-kar* belongs to the Vaiśravaṇa group and a *Rnam-sras-dkar-po* with the same meaning and having a considerable similarity to *Pe-kar* is actually figured in Dr. Oldenburg's work, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, v, No. 264. If we suppose the name to be Chinese, which in the circumstances is by no means improbable, the first syllable may be the Chinese word *pe*, "white": if the second

¹ Chavannes, op. cit., p. 9; Stein, *Serindia*, p. 1300 and n. 21.

² Abel-Rémusat, *Fou-Koue-Ki*, pp. 141-2; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*,² p. 207; Ś. C. Das in *JASB*, 1881, p. 247; Grünwedel, op. cit., p. 182. But see Laufer, *T'oung pao*, xvii (1916), p. 51.

should be *har* (= Sanskrit *Hara* "Śiva", or whatever it might be), we should obtain the combination *Pe-har* and should probably also account for the earlier form *Pe-kar*, since the Chinese *Pe* originally ended with a *g*, being *big* or *beg*.

The observation of Col. Waddell (*supra*, p. 297) concerning a dislike on the part of *Pe-kar* for the "Kesar" story is explicable if *Kesar*, or *Ge-sar*, was, as it suggested below (Pt. II, pp. 290-1), a dynasty ruling a country adjacent to that of *Pe-kar*'s original worshippers, the *Bha-ta-Hor* and perhaps therefore at feud with them.

VI. *Bkaḥ-hgyur-rin-po-chehi-gsuñ-par-srid-gsum-rgyan-gcig-rdzu-hphrul-śiñ-rtahī-dkar-chag-No-mtshar-bkod-pa-rgya-mtshohi-lde-mig*, "Key to the marvellous ocean of compilations,' an index to the miraculous vehicle, the single ornament of the Triple World, the printed word of the precious *Bkaḥ-hgyur*."

This Index, the longer of the two appended to the *Sñar-thaṅ* xylograph edition of the *Bkaḥ-hgyur*, consists of 124 folios, whereof the index proper occupies only folios 82b-124, the preceding part of the work containing a disquisition, general and historical, and a very long and elaborate account of the efforts, subsidies, services, etc., contributed to the task of producing the edition. The date of the work being as late as A.D. 1731, the passages noted have value only as probably reproducing the most authoritative traditions.

Fol. 50a, 6

"Originally, when king *Khri-sron-lde-btsan* had founded the in the three ways ¹ imperishable, self-existent, ² monastery [*Bsam-yas*], basis and superstructure, ³ a council of Teacher disciples and the religion was held to consider who should be nominated as tutelary. It having been agreed that the

¹ *lugs*, i.e. "times".

² *lhun-gyis-grub-pa* = *svayambhū*.

³ *rtan-dañ-brten-pas-bcas-pa*, i.e. the building and all its appurtenances. The phrase recurs in the *Rgyal-rabs*, fol. 34a, 4.

occasion was suitable for the Great King Pe-har, the prince Mu-khri Btsan-po¹ was sent to guard the frontier-station² during three years and to conduct the king. In accordance with a petition on the part of the prince the great teacher invoked Rnam-sras,³ attended with a retinue of eight horses, and in the sight of the king and all the people commanded him to assist the prince. Rnam-sras undertook to do so. The prince's uncle Lha-bzan Klu-dpal⁴ and others having arrived, bringing the Tibetan armies, a census of the armies was carried out on the China-Tibet frontier. On that occasion, at the word 'It is the army of the Bya-khra kingdom in the east'⁵ [appeared] men with hawks' heads on human bodies; at the word 'It is the Grul-bum army of the southern region' tall men with small horses and having asses' feet; the men of the Cat-tail army of the western region had bodies with cats' tails; the men of the Big-ear army of the northern quarter had human bodies with asses' ears. Such and other soldiers of various service (?)⁶ having arrived [in] inconceivable [numbers], the army of the Gru-gu and the Chinese⁷ was vanquished. The Bha-ta-Hor Meditation-college having been captured, the Turquoise-sage himself arrived.⁸ In the train of the treasure company, the Ice Tadpoles, the royal race of Za-hor and so forth,⁹ Pe-har was conducted. On the road up [into Tibet] some troops were left in Byan-than¹⁰ as guards of the China-Tibet frontier-stations; of the Hbrog (nomads) who filled their places¹¹

¹ This name, in place of Mu-tig Btsan-po, is given also in the Ladak *Rgyal-rabs* (trans.), p. 88; see *supra*, p. 268.

² *so-kha*. Cf. p. 275, n. 9.

³ I.e. Vaiśravaṇa.

⁴ On this celebrated commander see *supra*, pp. 286, n. 1, 287, n. 4.

⁵ Concerning these peoples see *supra*, p. 271.

⁶ *ngo-brñen* = *bsgo-bsñan*?

⁷ See *supra*, p. 269.

⁸ Concerning the Bha-ta-Hor and the Turquoise-sage see *supra*, p. 296.

⁹ *sel-gyi-sbal-lcon*: see *supra*, p. 271, n. 5.

¹⁰ The Byan-than appears here to include all northern Tibet; but perhaps the armies returned from Turkestan *via* Cer-cen or Mirān.

¹¹ *sder-lphel-ba*.

the leader was the Dbas of the Rgod-Ldoñs¹-btsan lineage. This being the first time that the names 'Dbas' race and 'Outer Hbrog² regiment' came to be known, according to a received tradition Dbas Śes-phrug³ came to be pronounced as the race name; and so the Dbas Śes-phrug Lha-señ in due course came into the middle country."

¹ On the term *Dbas* (*Sbas*) see Index. The Rgod-Ldoñ or "Wild Ldoñ" are mentioned in the Ladak *Rgyal-rabs* (A. H. Francke, op. cit., pp. 77-8) as a people, or region, in primitive Tibet, the Ldoñ being known in the literature (see Ś. C. Das' dictionary) as one of the six early tribes. In later times they supplied to Tibet a ministerial family. It is interesting to learn that the title *Dbas* was first known in connection with them.

² On the "Phyi-Hbrog" see *infra*, Pt. II, p. 298.

³ Evidently the Dbas Śes-phrug were a family well known in connection with the Bsam-yas monastery. But neither the family nor the individual Lha-señ seems to be elsewhere mentioned in available sources of information. Here an etymology (*śes-phrug* "know-day") seems to be intended.

APPENDIX

THE RELIGIOUS ANNALS OF THE LI COUNTRY (*Li-yul-chos-kyi-lo-rgyus*)

This text is contained in a MS. procured by Professor Paul Pelliot from the hidden library of Ch'ien-fo-tung, near Tun-huang, in Chinese Kan-su, and now preserved, as No. 254 of the "Fonds Pelliot tibétain", in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris. Descriptive particulars of the MS. are given in a note below¹: for a photographic facsimile and assent to the publication I am deeply indebted to Monsieur Jean Bacot, who is engaged in a study of the collection.

The contents of the text, whereof the commencement is wanting, are analogous to those of *The Prophecy of the Li Country*, taken in conjunction with *The Annals of the Li Country* (jointly = No. 3 *supra*), but with sweeping differences. Thus (1) the downfall of Buddhism in Khotan, Tibet, Gandhāra, and India, the subject of *The Prophecy*, is indeed narrated in the text (ll. 49-76), and the title *The Prophecy of the Li Country* is named (l. 48); but the story is told much more briefly and with divergent particulars, and it is inserted after the account of the foundation of the kingdom of Khotan by Kustana and Ya-si (*sic*) and some particulars (ll. 33-41) of its tutelaries, monasteries, and sects (cf. *supra*, pp. 15-16, 19-20, 24-6, 96-7), and after a statement (ll. 41-7) of the manner in which the country will ultimately become again a great lake; (2) the opening of the extant portion of the text contains a chronological statement analogous to that printed

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, No. 254, a roll measuring in length M. 0.84, in breadth M. 0.31; margins slightly worn away, especially at top r. and l.; text continuous: ll. 114 of small, clear, *dbu-can* script, rather calligraphic, with a few corrections in a less studied hand. Phrases and sentences separated by one or two vertical strokes (*śad*); paragraphs, by four circles arranged in a square, following two *śads*—in one instance the square has been furnished with a square surround of four petals. In one or two cases a punctuation by two circles, one above the other, has been inserted. The usual cross marks the place for insertion of a correction; and there are one or two other marks in the margin or otherwise. Possibly a foliation 1, 2, 3 is indicated by those numbers of circles in the left margin.

supra, p. 104, and the matter following (ll. 2-16) is an abbreviated version of that contained in pp. 105-110; (3) next (ll. 16-19) comes an account of the origin of the Li country, corresponding more or less to pp. 95-6, but much briefer, followed (ll. 19-32) by the story of Kustana and Ya-šo, corresponding to pp. 97-101; (4) the historical account of the various religious foundations (*Annals*, pp. 110-134) is wanting; instead we have the passages noted under (1) above (ll. 33-47), another passage (ll. 76-86), also concerning tutelaries and shrines, and (ll. 86-109) a story of a treasurer Śi-ri-dan, not elsewhere recorded, and the foundation of certain shrines; (5) the conclusion (ll. 110-113) is a statistical passage analogous to pp. 134-6 of the *Annals*, but with divergent particulars. Ll. 113-14 contain the colophon.

From this analysis it seems probable that the sources of the text included (A) a *Prophecy of the Li Land*, giving an account of its origin and destruction, its tutelaries, with the names of some of its chief shrines, and the foundation of the kingdom by Kustana. This material, analogous to the main contents of the *Gośrṅga-vyākaraṇa*, ends perhaps at l. 49, where the *Prophecy* is named. Another portion (B) corresponds roughly to the beginning of the *Annals of the Li Country*, but omits the whole of the later part, namely that part which, containing accounts of many royal foundations, was probably based upon the Royal Genealogy (*Rgyal-rabs*) and the *māhātmyas* of the monasteries (v. *supra*, p. 75 and n. 1, p. 103, n. 6). A third portion (C) relates the story of the downfall of Buddhism in Turkestan, Tibet, and India, in agreement with the *Prophecy of the Arhat Saṅghavardhana* and the *Prophecy of the Li Country* (v. *supra*, pp. 53 sqq., 77 sqq.). By reason of the differences in contents and arrangement, as well as in details, the actual text cannot have been based upon any of those translated above, though the writer may have been to some extent acquainted with some of them. He himself claims to be giving a brief epitome, derived from the *Sūryagarbha* and *Candraagarbha Sūtras* and the *Vimala-[pari]pṛcchā*

(p. 323, n. 8), which seems to be identical with the *Vimala-prabhā-pariprechā* translated above. But many of the details of local names are such as would not have occurred in any Sanskrit text; and the probability is that these are a personal contribution on the part of the epitomator, who, being a Pandit with the title *Mo-rgu-bde-si*, on which see p. 110, n. 1, *supra*, would have been possessed of such information. The quality of the writer as a learned man gives a singular value to his somewhat numerous citations of names and expressions in the vernacular speech of Khotan.

TRANSLATION

... [Il. 1-2] ¹ from the rise of the religion [of Buddha] there had passed years a thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three. During the period from king Earth-Breast to the Li ruler Btsan-legs fifty-six generations of kings ...

[Il. 2-6] ² Then the Bodhi-sattva Maitreya ³ and the Ārya Mañjuśrī, these two, realizing that this country of Li was a pocket-estate ⁴ of the Buddhas of the Three Times, came into the Li country in order to act as Pious Friends of the people of the [Li] country. Coming first to a grove named Cu-le ⁵ in Tsar-ma, the Bodhi-sattva Maitreya [appeared as] king Byi-dza-ya-Sam-bha-ba ⁶ and acted as king of ... the Ārya Mañjuśrī assuming a body as the monk Be-ro-tsa-na, ⁷ settled ⁸ in the grove Cu-le of Tsar-ma and first of all taught an alphabet and language to children, cattle-herds; after which the religion arose. Then king Byi-dza-ya-Sam-bha-ba built for his Pious Friend the monk Be-ro-tsa-na, incarnation of Ārya Mañjuśrī, the monastery of Tsar-ma, the first in the Li country. A grandson of king Earth-Breast, by name king

¹ This passage corresponds to pp. 103-4 *supra*; but the period of 1733 years is unexplained, and the king Btsan-legs, concerning whom see *supra*, p. 69, n. 11, replaces Btsan-bzan Btsan-la-brtan (pp. 75, 104-5).

² The matter in this paragraph corresponds to pp. 104-5 *supra*, q.v.

³ Omitted and added below line.

⁴ *zin-khud*, as *supra*, p. 96, n. 6.

⁵ = Tsu-le, *supra*, p. 105.

⁶ = Vijaya-Sambhava.

⁷ = Vairocana.

⁸ *bzu[g]s*.

Yēhu-la, built the great city Nectarean, the fort H̄u-ten of the Li country.

[ll. 6-11]¹ Then king Bi-rya, having gone to the top of Nectarean,² the fort of H̄u-ten, on the south-eastern edge, looked, and outside the fort beheld what appeared like a stag with gold-and-silver-coloured hair. The king with his entourage went in pursuit. When they arrived at the spot where now is the great *stūpa* of H̄gum-tir, at the foot of H̄gi-hu-te-śan,³ they saw it: the stag had become the Yakṣa-king Samjaya.⁴ The Yakṣa-king Samjaya said to the king: "Ho, great king, you ought to build on this spot a *stūpa*." The king said: "Build for whom?" "Build for the 'messenger of Buddha', the Arhat H̄bu-ta-h̄du-ta,⁵ and Saṅ-ga-sta and Saṅ-ga-bo-yaṅ and Saṅ-ga-sta-na, these four, who have come as your Pious Friends," was the reply. Straightway the four Arhats came manifest⁶ there and expounded the religion. The king, becoming very strong in faith, implanted there the *stūpa*-building peg and beneath it built the great *stūpa* of the H̄gum-tir monastery.

[ll. 11-16] At the time when the king built H̄gum-tir there was inquiry and search for a little child which had strayed from its attendants. It having been found in a hollow of no great size between what now is the top of H̄ge-hu-te-śan and the abode of Mañjuśrī,⁷ the king built in the little hollow a monastery, on the spot where the little child was found, and deposited in it relics of the Buddhas of the Seven Successions.⁸ A place of worship during the Three Times, the monastery has the

¹ The following passage concerning the H̄gum-tir *stūpa*, the Ārya-stana and Mo-rgyu-bde-śi corresponds to pp. 108-110 *supra*.

² *Dñar-ldan*, as *supra*, p. 91, n. 4; p. 187, n. 2; p. 250, n. 4.

³ = *H̄ge-hu-to-śan*, *supra*, p. 6, and Index. The form with *te*, constant in this text, perhaps corresponds to *tai* in *Wu-tai-shan*, Sk. *Te* (or *Dehu*)-śan.

⁴ On Samjaya = Samjūin of p. 108, see *supra*, p. 20, n. 1.

⁵ = Buddhāduta (*sic*), *supra*, p. 108. The other three names replace the Khagata and Khaga-drod of that passage.

⁶ *mñon-du* added below line.

⁷ The abode (*gnas*) of Mañjuśrī, on the Gośrīga hill, was, no doubt, the monastery Par-spon-byed, mentioned *supra*, p. 15.

⁸ *rabs-bdun*.

name *Ārya-stana*. The child, being freed and sent away by the king, soon afterwards¹ attained the fruit of Arhatship. There having been no predecessor of this first in the Li country to attain the fruit of Arhatship, he, as "Way-unerring-showers", received the name "*Mor-gu-bde-sil*".² The name *Mor-gu-bde-sil*³ having first originated with him, subsequently *Mor-gu-bde-sils* who are great hermits and have accumulated excellent works of asceticism are entitled *Mor-gu-bde-sil*.

[ll. 16-19]⁴ At the time when the Li country was a lake the Holy One pronounced to Be-śa-ra-ma-ne, the king of the northern region, and the monk Śāriputra, these two: "When this⁵ which at present is a lake, but is the pocket-estate of the Buddhas of the Three Times, shall hereafter have become a land, on each spot where now lotuses have sprung up will arise a monastery, and there will arise many Bodhi-sattvas also. Let this lake be removed by you elsewhere: let it again be land." Thereupon Be-śa-ra-ma-na, king of the northern region, and the monk Śāriputra, these two, with the end of his (S.'s) mendicant's staff of bark and the point of his (B.'s) lance, broke open the lake.⁶ The lake, having

¹ *mod-la*.

² *du-ṣes-bgyi-baḥi-myiñ-yañ-de-las-byuñ-ste* here crossed out (anticipation of what follows).

³ On the term *Mo-rgu-bde-si*[*l*] and its etymology see *supra*, p. 110, n. 1. The form in *-sil*, constant in this text, is perhaps an indication that the text was compiled in Śa-cu, where old Chinese *sil* and *si* were no longer distinguished. We have noted that the author was himself a *Mo-rgu-bde-si*.

⁴ The substance of this paragraph corresponds to pp. 95-6 *supra*, but also to pp. 16 and 34-5 (where 353 lotuses are mentioned). But the terms there used for "mendicant's staff", namely *mkhar-[g]sil* and *gseg-[g]śaṅ*, fail to reveal what appears from the phrase here used, *śiñ-śaṅ-gseg-cañ*, that the story really contains some folk-etymology of the name of the defile of Śiñ-śaṅ, on which see *infra*, p. 312 and ii, pp. 198 sqq. For *gseg* the MS. has *gu* (partly defective, but certain) *seg*, so that perhaps the intended reading was *Śiñ-śaṅ-du-gseg-cañ*, "in Śiñ-śaṅ," actually naming the place.

⁵ *ḥdi* added below line.

⁶ The operation described is a removal of half of the mountain range, a single line, and placing it parallel to the other half, so as to form a double range, which is stated, in fact (Stein, *Serindia*, p. 1285, and Map No. 26) to be the case with the present Mazār-Tāgh. Through the space left open the waters of the lake flowed away, producing a river at the east end of both sections of the range.

dried,¹ one hundred years after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha became land.

[ll. 19–22] As regards the first king of that land, named Earth-Breast, a son of Aśoka,² king of India: The king of India, Aśoka, being on his travels³ in search of a land, attended by a large army of Indians and Brahmans, sign-readers and so forth, came after various wanderings to Hu-ten also, which⁴ just then had become empty land in place of lake: there his queen gave birth to a boy,⁵ which he sent to . . . for his marks to be inspected. The sign-readers having inspected him, he had very excellent marks. “O king, even in comparison with you this prince, your son, [will be] of great authority,” they said. The king, becoming jealous, said angrily: “Cast away the boy on the spot where he was born.” As to the spot where the king cast away his son, it is where inside the north gate of Hu-ten, before an old temple at the back of where ‘A-rya-ba-lo⁶ (Āryāvālokiteśvara) resides, there is placed the shrine⁷ of the Nātha.⁸

[ll. 23–4] At the time when the king cast away his son Bi-śa-ra-ma-ni,⁹ the Lord of the northern region, and Śrī-Devī fed him with a breast which rose from underground, and the boy did not die: he was also given the name Earth-Breast. Śa-ra-ma-ni¹⁰ took him, and, as the king of China had a thousand sons incomplete by one, gave him to be son of

¹ The lake, having dried (*skams*), gives rise to the region *Kham-señ*, on which see *supra*, pp. 102, n. 2, 135, n. 5.

² ‘A-śo-ka. This story of Aśoka, Kustana, the Chinese emperor Shih-wang-ti, and Yaśo, and of the origination of the kingdom of Khotan corresponds to pp. 97–101 *supra*.

³ *ljōṅs-rgyu-zh̄n*.

⁴ Added below line and in margin: in part obscured.

⁵ *Hu-ten* added below line.

⁶ “The ‘A-rya-ba-lo” is, no doubt, the temple of Avalokiteśvara, named Hod-can *supra*, pp. 7, 15, and *Hju-sna infra*, p. 311, n. 3. *Hju-sna*, the native name, is therefore probably = Sanskrit *Jyotsnā*.

⁷ *rt̄en-k[h̄]aṇ*.

⁸ *ngon-po*. The Nātha is, no doubt, Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, evidently the chief divinity of Khotan.

⁹ Bi-śa-ra-ma-ni and Śa-ra-ma-ni = Vaiśramaṇa.

¹⁰ *Sic*.

the Chinese king. [ll. 24-5] He having been constantly in high favour ¹ with the Chinese king, on the occasion of a great festivity the sons of the Chinese king were engaged in play, when, a quarrel arising between Earth-Breast and the other sons of the Chinese king, they uttered the words, "Low fellow, you are no son of the Chinese king: you are a humble foundling,² and we are of royal birth, which is different." [ll. 25-7] Prince Earth-Breast, being grieved, straightway appealed to the Chinese king: "We sons of the Chinese king were playing there, when the other sons said, 'Low fellow, you are not a son of the Chinese king: you are a humble foundling, while we are proper sons of royal race, which is different.' If I am made not to be ³ a son of the Chinese king, what is the use of my being in attendance upon ⁴ the Chinese king? Allow me to go to another region to find a country"—thus he petitioned. [ll. 27-9] The Chinese king said, "At present you are my proper son: what the other sons said is false. I do not allow you to go." Earth-Breast with vehement reiteration ⁵ urged his petition; and the Chinese king, dejectedly thinking, "This son given by Śa-ra-ma-ni, though very dear, ought not to remain," assented to the petition of Earth-Breast and sent him away with a large Chinese army in his train. [ll. 29-32] In search of a land he arrived in the region of the Li land, when 'A-ma-ca ⁶ Ya-śi,⁷ a great councillor of Earth-Breast's father Aśoka, king of India, having for some offence been banished the country, arrived in the region of the Li land with a large Indian army in his train. They met at Hañ-hgu-hjo, in the upper (eastern) river ⁸ [region]. At first, unwilling to agree, they prepared battle.⁹ An interval having occurred in the fighting, the lord Bi-śa-ra-ma-ni and Śrī-Devī

¹ *gnañ-cen-ñtshal-zin-mchis-mchis-pa-las.*

² *gyi-na-rñed-pa.*

³ *ma-lags-par-gyur.*

⁴ *zam-hbrin.*

⁵ *gal-gyis-gcus-te.*

⁶ 'A-ma-ca: Here we have the word actually employed as equivalent to the Sanskrit *amātya*; cf. p. 126, n. 3, and *reñf.*

⁷ *Sic* = Ya-śo of the other accounts.

⁸ *śel-chab-goñ-ma.* On Hañ-gu-jo see *supra*, p. 101, n. 4, and Index.

⁹ *rgyus-ma-ñtshal-te . . . -g-yul-bśams.*

and Bhūmi-devī and others, interposing,¹ explained the circumstances in detail from the beginning² and, making them recognize that they were subject and chieftain, effected an agreement. This land³ having originally, through the meeting of king Earth-Breast and 'A-ma-ca Ya-si, chief and subject, been held by these two founders, the kingdom of Hu-ten was established upon that foundation.⁴

[ll. 32-3]⁵ As regards the non-decaying of the Good Religion in the Li land and the eight great resident tutelaries of the land, the great lord Be-sa-ra-ma-ni, the generalissimo Sa-ñe,⁶ Aparājita, Gaganeśvara,⁷ Suvarṇamālā,⁸ Aṅkuśavatī,⁹ Sthānavatī,¹⁰ the Nāga-rāja Hgra-ha-bad-ta¹¹ and the rest, their vowed retainers, the tutelaries in general are three myriads: Devas tutelaries a thousand five hundred and seven.

[ll. 34-5] Names of the four Nāga-rājas guarding the religion together with the land [*gap*, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a line], these four tutelaries. Bodhi-sattvas perpetually resident are five hundred, two hundred and fifty residing in the state of monks and nuns, two hundred and fifty in the state of lay¹² householders, male and female.¹³

[ll. 35-6] On each spot where originally lotuses emerged from the lake arose a monastery, Hgehu-te-san¹⁴ and Hgum-tir¹⁵ and Hguh-hbañ¹⁶ and Tsar-ma¹⁷ and Hdro-tir¹⁸ and Dar-ma-ti¹⁹ and Sañ-tir²⁰ and Skoñi-bron²¹ and so forth,

¹ *dbus-nas-byun-ste.*

² *dan-poñi-rgyus-kyan-zib-tu-bśad.*

³ *gzi.*

⁴ *de-lar-bzun-zin-btsugs-so.*

⁵ With the names in this paragraph cf. pp. 96-7 *supra*.

⁶ *Sa-ñe*, evidently the local form of Saṃjñin and Saṃjaya, *supra*, p. 20, n. 1.

⁷ *Gha-gha-na-sva-ra.*

⁸ *Su-gar-na-ma-la*: cf. pp. 20, 97.

⁹ *Leags-kyu*: cf. pp. 20, 97.

¹⁰ *Sta-na-ba-ti*: cf. pp. 20, 97.

¹¹ = *Gṛhapati* (*bad* is correction from *bśad*).

¹² *skya-bo.*

¹³ For these numbers see pp. 78, 96, 240.

¹⁴ See p. 109.

¹⁵ See pp. 108-110.

¹⁶ Is this the Hgo-bañ of p. 321, *infra*?

¹⁷ See pp. 105-7.

¹⁸ See pp. 112-14. Candraprabha monastery?

¹⁹ Possibly = the Dharmākīrti-sa of pp. 120-1.

²⁰ This is the Hjah-mo-ka-ka-roñ monastery of pp. 114-17.

²¹ The temple of Ākāśagarbha (*infra*) and perhaps therefore = the *Hjigs-tshogs-spon-byed* or *Śaṅkā-prahāṇa* of pp. 7, 15, 77, n. 1.

important¹ monasteries three hundred and thirty-three in all.

[ll. 37-9] Names of the eight self-originated Bodhi-sattvas at present resident in the Li land: Vajrapāṇi, who is lord of the Guhyas, resides still in Śoṇ-pya,² above the highest terrace of Hgeḥu-te-śan; Ārya Avalokiteśvara³ resides in Hju-sna; Ākāśagarbha in Skoḥi-bron⁴; Mañjuśrī and Mañibhadra⁵ both in Hgeḥu-te-śan; Kṣitigarbha in Hdro-tir⁶; Samantabhadra in Saṅ-ga-po-loṅ⁷ of To-la; Bhaiṣajyarāja in Hbaḥ-no-co⁸; Maitreya in Hbas-no-ña.⁹

[ll. 39-41] As to the views of the Saṃghas of the two divisions¹⁰: Of the monks and nuns, two divisions, those of the Mahā-yāna adopt the principles¹¹ of the *Avikalpa*¹² and the *Śūraṃgama-samādhi*¹³; the *śrāvakas* adopt the principles of the Four Truths; taking the Saṃghas of both divisions and the laity, as regards the measure of many and few of those who adopt the Mahā-yāna principles and those who adopt the principles of the *Śrāvakas*, the Mahā-yānists being as the hairs of a horse's body, the Hīnayānists¹⁴ as the hairs of a horse's ear, the measure of many and few is about that.

¹ *gñan-pa*. On the number 333 (or 353 or 363) see *supra*, pp. 16, 95.

² Name of a shrine?

³ 'A-rya-ba-lo. On the temple *Hju-sna* (= Hōd-can?) see *supra*, p. 308, n. 6.

⁴ See *supra*.

⁵ Ma-ni-bha-ba.

⁶ See pp. 7, 15, 51, 112-13 *supra*.

⁷ Probably the Saṃghapāla monastery of pp. 7, 16 *supra*. On To-La see p. 100, n. 6.

⁸ = Ba-no-co of pp. 7, 16 *supra*.

⁹ = Bi-si-mo-ña of pp. 7, 15 *supra*.

¹⁰ So. male and female.

¹¹ *sgor-hjug-pa* (= *praveśa*?). On *sgo* see *supra*, p. 32, n. 1.

¹² *Rnam-par-myi-rtog-pa*. On *avikalpika-prajñā* see *Abhidharma-kośa*, trans. De la Vallée Poussin (Index). Or is a text (*Avikalpa-praveśa-dharanī Bkaḥ-hgyur*, Mdo XIII, No. 1) indicated?

¹³ For a fragment of a *Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra* in Sanskrit see ap. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, pp. 125 sqq.; for the Tibetan version *Bkaḥ-hgyur*, Mdo, vol. ix, foll. 407-510; for the Chinese, Nanjio, No. 399.

¹⁴ On Sarvāstivādin and Māhāsaṃghikas (who are both of the Hīna-yāna) in Khotan see *supra*, pp. 114, 117, n. 3.

[ll. 41-7] As to the time when Hu-ten of the Li land will retrograde¹ and become a lake: At the time when the Ten Goods are not practised, the land's tutelaries, the pledged lords and the tutelary Devas and Nāgas, all having closed again the defile of Śiñ-śan,² the water of the Upper and Lower³ rivers, gathering at the entrance of the great monastery of Hgum-tir—the monastery where resides Pra-ba-śa,⁴ above what is now the great bazar within the Nectarean⁵ fort of Hu-ten—veering round into a lake, will become a lake: at which time the other *śarīras* will be sought out by the Nāgas and made in various places an object of worship. Of the *śarīras* of the Seven Successive Buddhas⁶ the portion at present deposited in the present monastery named Ārya-stana,⁷ a place of worship during the Three Times—the monastery Ārya-stana built by the king on a spot where a lost child was found within a hollow of no great size between the present top of Hgeḥu-te-śan and the abode of Mañjuśrī,⁸ these two—at the time when the Li land has again become a lake that hollow wherein is the monastery Ārya-stana will again close up its mouth. The *śarīras* from that place not being found by any one, when the Buddha Maitreya comes to be lord in the world, the lake of the Li land will again dry up, and there will be land; and that little hollow with the monastery containing the *śarīras* will open its mouth again and will become a place for the worship of the Buddha Maitreya along with his retinue.

[ll. 48-9] The Holy One pronounced: "This *Prophecy of the*

¹ *śar-hjog*.

² On the defile (*roṇ*) of Śiñ-śan see *supra*, p. 307, n. 4.

³ *Itag-hog*, i.e. eastern and western.

⁴ Pra-ba-śa probably denotes Candraprabha, p. 317, n. 6; see p. 113. (But this implies that Hgum-tir here is an error for Hdro-tir.)

⁵ Dnar-ldan; see *supra*, p. 91, n. 4. On the topography see the Introduction.

⁶ On relics of the Seven Tathāgatas (but in Tsar-ma, not in Ārya-stana) see *supra*, p. 107.

⁷ On Ārya-stana see *supra*, p. 109, n. 6, and Index.

⁸ On the abode (*gnas*) of Mañjuśrī see *supra*, p. 306, n. 7.

*Li Country*¹ is by common people not even to be handled. The merit of even hearing it cleanses the sin of one æon; the merit of reading² it cleans the sin of countless æons; religiously acting persons, monks, etc., when they die,³ need not be perturbed in spirit⁴: it is supreme religion in perfection."

[Il. 49-51]⁵ As to the time when in the Li land at last the good religion declines: The Samghas of the Four Cities of the Upper⁶ Country having all come into Hu-ten and assembled—at that time the Li people, being deceived by Māra, were without faith in the Good Religion and the Samgha, showing contempt⁷ towards the Samgha and robbing and plundering the cattle and goods: the cattle and goods, the parishes⁸ and estates⁹ of the Three Gems having been completely plundered, Li also presented an altered disposition.¹⁰ [Il. 51-4] After that all the Samghas, as they arrived, assembled in the monastery Tsar-ma. While they were taking counsel, "Since here Li also is not well disposed,¹¹ where should we betake us?", at that very time, as there was a lord Btsan-po¹² of Tibet who had faith in the religion and showed great respect and honour to the Samgha, it was decided to go into Tibet. It happened¹³ that at that time there was not even food for the Samgha's next¹⁴ meal: from underneath the Tsar-ma monastery, inside a treasure trunk, appeared seven meal-portions of gold, which furnished the whole Samgha with livelihood during three months.¹⁵ [Il. 54-5]

¹ *Yul-Li-yul-gyi-lun-bstan-hdi*, a designation practically coinciding with that of the text 3a, pp. 77 sqq., *supra*.

² *slags = klags*.

³ *hchi-zin* (?) added below line.

⁴ *sems-drkug*.

⁵ With the following narrative compare pp. 53 sqq., 77 sqq., *supra*.

⁶ *Stod*. The meaning is uncertain. The 'four cities' can scarcely have here the technical sense of the Chinese "Four Garrisons" = Turkestan. But in the Prophecy *supra*, p. 78, it is stated that the monks of 'An-se (Tokharistan) and Su-lig (Kashgar) will come to Khotan. Probably the four cities are the five (p. 91, n. 4) of the Khotan kingdom less the capital itself.

⁷ *skur-ba-hdebs*.

⁸ *tshar*.

⁹ *rkyen-ris*.

¹⁰ *gcags-pa-myi-hdra*.

¹¹ *myi-gcags*.

¹² *lha-btsan-po*.

¹³ *chad-pa-las* "it was ascertained"?

¹⁴ *hphral*.

¹⁵ *Supra*, pp. 57, 81.

Then, the winter time coming, the whole Saṃgha departed from Tsar-ma, taking the road to Hdro-tir. In Hdro-tir, above a self-originated monastery¹ of the Bodhi-sattva Kṣitigarbha, a dome² of no great size which was there collapsed at that time of itself, and inside appeared pearls, a full *bre*, which again furnished victuals for three months. [Il. 56-7] Then³ in the first spring month they departed, taking the way to Myes-kar. In Myes-kar⁴ also the king of the northern region, Vaiśravaṇa,⁵ and Śrī-Mahādevī, appearing in human form, furnished victuals for the three spring months. Then, when nothing was left,⁶ they departed in the first summer month for Tibet. At that time there were many who sank back into the laity or perished of thirst⁷ on the way.

[Il. 57-9] Just at that time the lord Btsan-po of Tibet and the king of China were nephew and uncle,⁸ and Koṅ-co had been received as consort of the lord Btsan-po. Koṅ-co having built in Tibet a great monastery and marked off estates⁹ [for it], all the Saṃghas went there, and, Koṅ-co furnishing a livelihood, the Mahā-yāna religion flourished in Tibet.

[Il. 59-61] After twelve years,¹⁰ during which Saṃgha and laity in general enjoyed full felicity in the practice of religion, there also the army of Māra took the offensive, and black pustules and so forth and many kinds of disease were sent by Māra : Koṅ-co too died through a black pustule forming on her breast. Then the laity lost faith : they said, "Black pustules and many kinds of disease have come : it is a bad thing that these Saṃgha bodies have arrived in Tibet." It being said that in Tibet also no single Saṃgha should be allowed to abide, they were severally banished.

[Il. 61-2] Then all the Saṃghas departed to Gandhāra¹¹

¹ This is the monastery Yo-śes-ri of pp. 57, *supra*.

² *log-ri*.

⁴ See pp. 59, 81 *supra*.

⁶ *cha-rdzas-kyan-zla-la-bgyis-ste*?

⁸ *dbon-zañ-du-mdzad*.

¹⁰ "Three," p. 61 ; "three or four," p. 83.

¹¹ *Gan-dha-ra*.

³ *śul* here crossed out in MS.

⁵ *Rnam-thos-kyi-bu*.

⁷ *chab-htshald*, p. 315, n. 11.

⁹ *rkyen-ris-bcad*.

in India. Also the Samghas settled in [the country] beyond ¹ India came and assembled at one time in the Gand[h]āra country. [ll. 62-4] At that time in Kehu-sān-byi ² of India arose a king named Hdre-spe-sad,³ son of Man-hdre-señ-ge.⁴ In his time three great kings, the king of China, the king of Tibet, and the king of the Hor,⁵ leading an army of 100,000, contended with Hdre-spe-sad, king of Kehu-sām-hbyi (*sic*). After dispatching ⁶[troops] during twelve years ⁷ the army of the three kings did not prevail: the army was totally destroyed. [ll. 64-7] Hdre-spe-sad, king of Kehu-sām-byi, reflected, "I in this life by killing so many soldiers have committed a deadly ⁸ sin: by doing what will the sin be cleansed?"—thus continually ⁹ saying, he became repentant in mind. With intent to make confession, removing his remorse and cleansing his sin, he sent to the four directions messengers inviting the Samghas. After the fallings away ¹⁰ from the Samghas of Jambū-dvīpa and the deaths from thirst ¹¹ by the way there assembled some 100,000 Samghas,¹² among whom was not one of the Arhats and of those possessed of the Three Piṭakas. [ll. 67-8] Being informed by the envoys who invited the Samghas, "The Samghas authorized to come have arrived here," the king was highly delighted and inspired with great strength of faith. The time being already afternoon,¹³ he promptly invited them to a noon-day meal

¹ *Rgya-gar-yul-phan-cad-na*. The countries mentioned *supra*, pp. 61, 82 ('An-tse, Gus-tig, Par-mkhan, Bru-śa, Tho-kar, Kāśmīr) are perhaps meant.

² = *Kauśāmbī*.

³ = *Duṣprasaha* (p. 66, *supra*).

⁴ = Mahendrasena (cf. Przyluski, *Aśoka-avadāna*, p. 401, n. 3).

⁵ A new selection of three kings; cf. pp. 66 and 86.

⁶ *brkye*.

⁷ On this period see p. 66 and n. 3.

⁸ *mīshams-myed-paḥi-sdīg*, on which see *supra*, pp. 26, n. 5; 91, n. 3, etc.

⁹ *goig-tu*.

¹⁰ *babs-pa*.

¹¹ *chab-htshald*, as p. 314, n. 7.

¹² i.e. members of Samghas, as *supra*, p. 135, and frequently.

¹³ *sla-dror-gyurd*. Food could not be taken after noon.

on the morrow. He also sent salutations and made arrangements for preparing garments and minor gifts¹ for the Saṃghas. [ll. 69-71] That evening being a time of full moon,² while the Saṃghas were performing the *uposatha*, a pupil of Dri-bi-le Tripiṭaka Žir-žag,³ by name 'Añ-ghan,⁴ killed an Arhat Ra-su-rag.⁵ The Arhat's tutelary Yakṣa, Hdra-dhamu-ka,⁶ killed Dri-bi-le Śir(*sic*)-žag; and then the Saṃghas, dividing at once into two parties, strove among themselves and used weapons.⁷ Before daybreak⁸ not one of the Saṃgha was left, and at dawn there was none to know and utter the name of the Three Gems. [ll. 71-2] When day broke, the king rose from his couch and was on the point of going to salute the Saṃghas and inviting them. On hearing that "Last night none of the Saṃghas survived", the king uttered a great cry of sorrowful lamentation⁹ and lamented in mournful lamentations of many kinds, letting his body fall on the earth and exhibiting profound dejection.

[ll. 72-6] On that night the Good Religion also sank: there was a great earthquake; the world's six savours of food perished; from the sky¹⁰ fell a rain of blood. On that night from the place of the Thirty-and-Three Śākyamuni's mother's retinue of five hundred approached with dishevelled locks,¹¹ and from the sky came a great sound of weeping. Greatly grieving for the decline of the Good Religion in Jambū-dvīpa, they collected the hair and nails of the dead Saṃghas, and, bearing them back to the heaven of the Thirty-and-Three, built a great *stūpa* and worshipped them. Then after the decline of the Good Religion, bad seasons and divers diseases coming, the times also will retrograde and become evil.

¹ *yon-du-dbul-bu*.

² *sla-ña*.

³ = [Bahusrutiya] Tripiṭaka Śirsaka of p. 67, *supra*.

⁴ Agnāvi of p. 68, *supra*.

⁵ = Surata of p. 67, *supra*; possibly Ba-su-rag was intended here.

⁶ = Dadhimukha (Dṛdhamukha ?) of p. 68, n. 3.

⁷ *mtshon-kar-bkye*.

⁸ *dguñ-ma-saṅs-par*.

⁹ *nud-mo*, "sobbing."

¹⁰ *nam-ka-las* added below line.

¹¹ *skra-bśig*. On this incident cf. Przyluski, *Aśoka-avadāna*, pp. 408-9.

[ll. 76-8]¹ Then, the Bhagavad having committed to king Be-śa-ra-ma-ni and to the Deva and Nāga tutelaries of the Li land the permanence and protection of the religion in the Li land, and the Devas and Nāgas having personally accepted, at that time the tutelary Great Kings and Devas and Nāgas petitioned the Buddha: "O Bhagavad, in after times, when the beings shall be of little faith, and show little honour to the Three Gems and the powers of the land show *yo-gal*,² at that time, if the force and strength of the Deva and Nāga tutelaries also diminishes, what is in that case to be done?" [ll. 78-84] The Buddha Śākya pronounced: "For the protection of the land in later times and for the permanence of the Good Religion I have appointed as guardians of the land's borders Bodhi-sattvas, and images and miraculous figures,³ in Śeñ-yoñ-phur⁴ and the temple named Hbyor-hbyi⁵ and in the temple Pra-ba-śa,⁶ in the great bazaar⁷ of Hū-ten, an image named Ro-je-gro-ma⁸; and in a *vihāra* Bža-saṅ-gre-ma⁹ a miraculous figure Dzeḥu-pa-ni¹⁰; and in a *vihāra* Tsar-ma-hjo a miraculous figure Tor-koñ¹¹ residing and in Toñ-kan-smad,¹² in an old abandoned *vihāra*, a miraculous figure named Śeñ-hjaḥ and Hdeb-ti-a-ni; and in To-la,

¹ With this passage compare pp. 23-7 *supra*.

² *yo-gal* = *gyo-bkol* "deceit", or *ho-brgyal* "faintness"?

³ *sprul-paḥi-sku-gzugs*.

⁴ *Śeñ-yod-phu*? Is this the Ku-śeñ of p. 24, *supra*?

⁵ Not otherwise known.

⁶ Pra-ba-śa: cf. p. 312, n. 5.

⁷ *tshon-dus-chen-po*. See *infra*, p. 322, n. 10.

⁸ *Ro-je-gro-ma*. This must be the image Rā-gra-ma of p. 96, *supra*, a form perhaps due to a confusion of Rāmagrāma and Rājagṛha; cf. p. 322, n. 5.

⁹ = the *vihāra* Bžāḥ-saṅ-gre-re-ma of pp. 123-5.

¹⁰ Not known.

¹¹ This image, obviously the same as that named *supra*, p. 25, serves to identify the Di-na-zya monastery with the Tsar-ma-jo, which is in itself likely, since the latter was in the vicinity of Han-gu-jo, "to the west of the parish Hdi-ñe" (p. 101).

¹² Lower Toñ-kan is probably the district of the Stoñ-ña or Rkoñ-ñan temple in Me-skar noticed *supra*, p. 81. The image Śeñ-hja has a name resembling the Śeñ-ža of p. 24. Since the temple was connected with Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī-Devī, it is possible that Śeñ-hja and Hdeb (b crossed out?)-ti-a-ni represent the native names of these two.

in a temple Kor-*śi-bi*,¹ a miraculous figure resident; and in Du-rya² a resident miraculous figure come miraculously from India; and in the entrance to the fort of Ko-*śeñ*³ six miraculous figures, sheeps' carcasses⁴ come from India—these. Also in the middle of the Žugs-*ñam*⁵ of Kham-*śeñ* the *viḥāra* named Sya-sku⁶—where is a self-originated *stūpa* with *śarīras* of the former Buddha Kāśyapa—and in 'A-*śi-śan*⁷ the *stūpa* which is there, very potent. [ll. 84–6] If in those regions, blessed with the blessing of these *stūpas*, enemy and strife or evil disease and bad years and so forth come to pass, should in those regions merit be augmented by reading from the *sūtra Sa-dha-rma-pun-dā-ri-ka*⁸ and from the *Bye-ma-la-pri-tsa*⁹ the 108 hearts of *dhāraṇīs* uttered by Buddha himself, and should the Devas and Nāgas be constantly admonished of their pledges,¹⁰ then the land will stand firm with the Good Religion long persisting and all evils allayed in the districts.

[ll. 86–8] A king of the Indian country, by name Hbal-bu Soñ-dar,¹¹ had a treasurer named Śi-ri-dan, of exceedingly

¹ On To-la (in Mdo-lo Me-skar) see *supra*, p. 311, n. 7; the temple Kor-*śi-bi* is not otherwise known.

² = Duwa (see pp. 102, n. 3, 135). The image is probably that mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang, tr. Beal, ii, pp. 314–15.

³ Ko-*śeñ* is perhaps = Ku-*śeñ* (p. 24, n. 4) = Guma = Pishan (of the Chinese *Ch'ien-Han-shu*, Wylie, *J. Anthropological Institute*, vol. x, p. 30).

⁴ *lug-pur*. These must be such dried carcasses as are seen in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries.

⁵ On the Žugs-*ñam* see *supra*, p. 100, n. 5, and Index.

⁶ Does this mean Dharmakīrti? Cf. Sya-pri = *Dharma-varḍhana*, as proposed *supra*, p. 118, n. 4.

⁷ Unknown, or = "the hill (*śan*) of Hāsha" (Stein, *Serindia*, Index)?

⁸ *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka*.

⁹ *Vimala-[pari]pṛcchā*; see *supra*, pp. 304–5, and p. 323, n. 8.

¹⁰ On the pledges see *supra*, pp. 208, 214.

¹¹ The story of Hbal-bu Soñ-dar (Prabhusundara?) and the treasurer Śi-ri-dan (Śrīdhana) has not been traced elsewhere. It seems to be highly composite. The parts relating to the Sogdian merchants and to the Arhats Sya-pri and No-ge Je hu, builders of shrines in Kham-*śeñ*, are, no doubt, local. The references to Nāgas and to the Anavatapta lake, etc., are connected with an identification of the Cer-cen river (Anuta, Navote) and the adjacent country with the Indian *Anavatapta*, *Anotatta*, and the Uttara-Kurus; on this see *Acta Orientalia*, xii, p. 58, xiii, pp. 44 sqq. The name Sundara also seems to be connected with Nāgas. Śi-ri-dan was perhaps

great faith in religion, of great compassion. Whatever he had of wealth and cattle he presented with worship to the Three Gems: to poor people of the lower order he sent gifts,¹ presenting² wealth and cattle and slaves and servants. Hearing that thereby he was become poor, the king, relieving his wants,³ sent him servants and much cattle and wealth, which again he presented in donation to the Three Gems. [ll. 88-90] At that time some five hundred Sog-dag⁴ merchants, before arriving in a province⁵ of that king's country, went astray on the road, and, being on the point of death, sought refuge with a Deva-rākṣasī 'A-ga-skri,⁶ and uttered a vow and offered, in case, finding the road and not dying, they should reach the country, to sacrifice a living man. Having found the road and having arrived in the country of king Hbal-bu Soñ-dar, they inquired how to meet with⁷ a man to be offered in sacrifice to the Deva-rākṣasī: [ll. 91-4] hearing which, the treasurer Śi-ri-dan reflected: "In countless lives down to the present, like the revolving wheel of a cart, I have been born again and again revolving in the world. While feeling regret for such monotony,⁸ I have not yet put an end to it.⁹ Now what pleasure is there in being sparing of this so poor body of mine? I must also rescue other beings alarmed at the thought of losing their lives¹⁰: and I must

originally the name of a country, viz. the Śi-ri-da of p. 262 *supra*, which we have proposed to identify with the Hunza-Nagar country and which may be the Śrīdhana of Tārānāth, trans. Schiefner, p. 324. That in any case the kingdom of Hbal-bu Soñ-dar belonged to the Western Himalayan regions is evident from the mention of Sogdian merchants; cf. the very interesting fact of the existence of a Sogdian inscription, of about the ninth century A.D., at Tanktse, a place to the west of the Pangong lake which is naturally reached by travellers from Khotan to Ladak, via Polu (F. W. K. Müller, Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1925, pp. 371-2).

¹ *mchod-pa-bgyid*, "showed respect," here crossed out.

² *yañ-ba*.

³ *bul-sod-kyan*.

⁴ An old form = *Sogdaka*. On the number "500 merchants" of pp. 222-3, 227.

⁵ *hdab*.

⁶ = *Agas-kari*?

⁷ *mjal-bar-smas* (*rmas*?).

⁸ *še-dag-la-skyo-ma-šes* (?) *nas*.

⁹ *rgyun-chad-ma-myön*.

¹⁰ *sems-šan-gzan-gyi-lus-phans-par-sems-šin-ljigs-pahi-skyabs-kyan-bya*.

fulfil the hope of the many Sog-dag merchants." With this thought he sold his body to the Sog-dag : the wealth received as the price of his body, that too he presented in worship to the Three Gems ; and, having sent gifts to the destitute poor of the lower ranks, he said to the Sog-dag : " What are your commands ? I accept your orders." [ll. 94-6] The Sog-dag ordered Śi-ri-dan to bathe, and, having bound him with iron cords, mounted ¹ him on an iron spit and burnt him in the fire, like cooking a sparrow.² Śi-ri-dan because of his great strength of faith was protected by the Devas and Nāgas, who caused rain to fall from the sky, so that the heat of the fire harmed him not at all. The Sog-dag released him and let him go. [ll. 96-8] Śi-ri-dan again thought, " That I, having satisfied with food and drink all the beings in the four states of life of beings in the four Jambū-dvīpas, and being of great merit, attain the fruit of Supreme Patience,³ is well ⁴ : on passing from this life may I be born as a king of a region where there is a great lake ⁵ and in four directions cause water to descend upon the four Jambū-dvīpas." [ll. 98-100] Having thus made aspiration, he became in that lake a Nāga-king, named 'A-hdah-bad,⁶ and again, devoted to extending the wood of the religious images ⁷ and building monasteries in Kham-śen, through the force of his aspiration was born as a son of a Spa ⁸ Hji-yos of Kham-śen ; and, having been set at liberty in the Hdro-tir monastery of Hu-ten, he acquired the strength of an Ārya Arhat,⁹ together with a Bhikṣu, the Ārya Arhat named No-ge¹⁰-Jehū, a son of Spa Hśor, elder brother of Spa Hji-yos.⁹ The Ārya Arhat S[y]a-pri, so-named, and his paternal relative,¹¹ these two, having dwelt in the monastery

¹ *dkris*.² *ce-ša-btso-ba-bzin-du*.³ *gzod-bla-na-myed-pa*.⁴ *thob-gan-dag*.⁵ Evidently the Anavatapta lake.⁶ A form, probably, of the name *Anavatapta*, *Anolatta*, *Anata*.⁷ *chos-gzugs-sin-spel-ba*.⁸ What a *Spa* is does not appear.⁹ This passage is inserted below the line.¹⁰ *No-ge*. This prefix, on which see *infra*, pt. ii, p. 242, is perhaps = Sanskrit *Nāga* ; cf. *Ro-je* (p. 317, n. 8) = *rājā*, *ñon* (p. 15, n. 10) = *jñāna*, *Saṅ-ga-po-lo* = *Samgha-pāla*.¹¹ *pha-spun-po*.

Hdro-tir, departed to Kham-sen in order to act as Pious Friends.¹ [ll. 100-2] From Hu-ten taking the road to Myes-kar and proceeding, on arriving in Myes-kar, they saw at the door of a certain Spa some fine growing willow trees.² Thence having arrived in Kham-sen, the two Arhats fell into contention³: "Which is the oldest monastery? which first is to have the *ganḍi*⁴ struck?"—this was their contention. [ll. 102-3] The Ārya S[y]a-pri⁵ in a monastery named Hgo-ban—where previously there had been a great lake, but, from the Nāgas having lifted up the site of the monastery, the lake had sunk down⁶: it is now the lake of Hdrehu-se-ra.⁷—the Ārya S[y]a-pri, having in due time⁸ speedily⁹ made a hut, promptly struck the *ganḍi*—in the Li language "hut" is *hgo-ban*.¹⁰ [ll. 103-7] The Ārya Arhat No-ge-Jehu, having first found the site¹¹ of the monastery 'Or-ñon, went back to Myes-kar and of that Spa begged alms, "As I am building a monastery in Kham-sen, I beg¹² all this growing wood." The Spa thought, "Is this begging from here of the wood for building the monastery an advantage for me, shall we say?"¹³: with this idea he said, "If you wish, take it all." The Ārya Arhat having expounded the occasion (?) of the loan¹⁴ and seven servants

¹ *dge-baḥi-bśes-gñen* = *kalyāṇa-mitra*.

² *śol-poḥi-skyed-sin-byan-po-dag*. On Khotan as a country of willows see *supra*, pp. 274, n. 4, 290, n. 6.

³ *nan-hgran-par-chad-de*.

⁴ *hgan-de*. On this form of gong, see p. 16, n. 9, and Index.

⁵ Miswritten *Sam-pa*.

⁶ *bslans-nas-mtsho-thur-du-bsmur-te*. Should we understand "through the Nāga having wetted (*brlan*) the site . . . , it had sunk down into the lake"?

⁷ This lake seems to have disappeared.

⁸ *ran-las*.

⁹ *riñs-thabs (stabs)-su*.

¹⁰ This statement of the meaning of the word *hgo-ban* (the name of the monastery) in the Khotan language is very authoritative, the writer being a Paṇḍit (Mo-rgu-bde-śi).

¹¹ *dog (nog)-sa*.

¹² *bslans*.

¹³ *hgam-ham-ci-zer-ba-zig*.

¹⁴ *skyin-baḥi-chags* (corr. from *chigs*)-*bsad-bgyis-nas*, "acknowledged his indebtedness"?

having come, all the wood having of itself in one night come uprooted,¹ tied it in five or six bundles and, having seen it go of itself² in the direction of Kham-*señ*, afterwards built the monastery: it is the monastery named 'Or-*ñiñ*.³ [ll. 107-9] The monastery being in existence, he became again a Nāga-king, by name the Nāga-rāja Ma-dros.⁴ In a region of India named Ro-dze-gre-ga,⁵ on a mountain *Ḡṛdhra-kūṭa*,⁶ he came to the Buddha Śākya-muni to hear religion; he having heard religion, the Buddha made prediction: "When this æon is half spent,⁷ you having attained Buddhahood at desire,⁸ as the Buddhas of the Three Times, working benefit for living creatures, shall deliver the beings of the Triple World, such like strength shall be yours"—with this blessing was prediction made.

[ll. 109-110] As for the lake-eye⁹ in the middle of *Hu*-ten of the Li land: It is within the fort Nectarean of *Hu*-ten, above the great bazaar beneath the foot of the miraculous image Pra-ba-śa, of the monastery of *Hgum-tir*.¹⁰ The lake-eye is still pressed by the foot of the miraculous image of Pra-ba-śa.

[ll. 110-113] Statistics¹¹ of the Saṃghas of both divisions in *Hu*-ten of the Li land: In the Saṃghas male and female both, four thousand, seven hundred and a little over. In from *Gyil-yañ* to Ko-*señ*¹² and Du-rya, in the Saṃghas male and female both, about five hundred and thirty; in Kam(*sic*)-*señ*,

¹ *śiñ-kun-riśa-ton-rañ-byuñ-ste*.

² *rañ* added below line.

³ Is this connected with the Gus-kyi- 'Or-myōñ-nag monastery of p. 133 *supra*?

⁴ *Anavatapta*.

⁵ = *Rājagṛha*; cf. p. 317, n. 8.

⁶ *Bya-rgod-spuñs*.

⁷ *phyed-zad-na*.

⁸ *sred-pañi-saṃs-rgyas*.

⁹ *mtsoñi-myig* (perhaps "a fountain").

¹⁰ On this monastery and bazar (*tshoñ-dus*) see *supra*, p. 317, n. 7.

¹¹ The numbers do not tally with those given *supra*, pp. 134-5.

¹² Ko-*señ* here = Koñ-*señ* of pp. 102, 134-5? Perhaps it had absorbed Ku-*señ* = Guma. On *Gyil-yañ* (*sic*) and Du-rya (*sic*) see *supra*, p. 135, n. 15; on Kam (or Kham)-*señ*, pp. 114, 135.

in the Saṃghas of both divisions, about two hundred and fifty; in from Gyl-yañ to Ko-śeñ and Hu-ten land ¹ and Kam-śeñ, on the whole, from Saṃghas of the two divisions to tenants ² and those with private means, ³ about five thousand four hundred and eighty. Even at present there are among those Saṃghas Bodhi-sattvas incarnate, sporting with opportunities, ⁴ working benefit for the beings.

[ll. 113-14] From the texts ⁵ of the *Dar-ma-sūtras Sūrya-garbha* ⁶ and *Candragarbha* ⁷ and *Bye-māla-pri-tsa* ⁸ a mere epitome, newly translated by Paṇḍit Mo-rgu-bde-sil.⁹

Copy of the *Religious Annals* ¹⁰ of the *Li* land.

Revised.¹¹

¹ *gzi*.

² *rkyen-pa*; cf. p. 135, n. 11.

³ *lsho-ba-sgos-sbyor* = "living on their own means" ?; cf. p. 135, n. 3.

⁴ *thabs-kyis-rol-ciñ*.

⁵ *gzun*.

⁶ *Su-rya-garba*.

⁷ *Tsan-dra-garba*.

⁸ = *Vimala-[pari]pṛcchā* (*supra*, pp. 304-5, 318, n. 9).

⁹ See *supra*, p. 307, n. 3.

¹⁰ *Chos-kyi-lo-rgyus*.

¹¹ *zus*, in a fresh, larger hand.

